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Memories

The Right Hon. Viscount Long of Wraxall.

[*Frontispiece.*

MEMORIES : : *By*

The Right Honourable Viscount Long of Wraxall, F.R.S. (Walter Long) ::

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WITH 20 ILLUSTRATIONS

HIGHGATE INSTITUTION LITERARY & SCIENTIFIC

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TO
MY WIFE

INTRODUCTORY

When a complete breakdown in my health compelled me to retire from public life, I was approached from more than one quarter and asked to write my Memoirs. I declined because I doubted my capacity to put my story into readable form. Later, it was pointed out to me that I was one of a small group of men who had been privileged to serve in high office, and also to take part in the round of country life and national sports. I was pressed to reconsider my decision, and I came to the conclusion that having, during the sixty odd years that I have lived, seen a complete revolution in all that goes to make what we call the World, my recollections might not be without interest.

I make no claim to a literary ability that has rendered many recent books so profoundly interesting. My effort will be to state quite simply what have been the variations, experiences and changes of a long and, I think I may say, an active life. My hope is that they may be of some interest to others. We all know how short memory is. Take, for instance, the changes that have been effected in the parks, squares and streets of London. Hyde Park Corner has been entirely altered. There is the new drive from Buckingham Palace to Admiralty Arch. There are the new approaches, drives and footpaths from the Duke of York's Column to Queen Anne's Gate. There are many other changes, of course, but I mention these because they have all been made within my own recollection. Yet, when I am in any of these places I find it very difficult to recall their appearance in the old days, or to reproduce in my mind's eye, even in the roughest way, a picture of them as they were before the alterations were made. So I believe it to be in the ordinary course of life. No remark is commoner in the mouths of older people than : " What a complete change from our day." Yet, when one proceeds to discuss what the old days were, it is usual to find that memories vary and that

it is difficult for the older people to agree as to the habits and customs of their youth.

It has become the fashion to base memoirs in many instances upon written records. It is then claimed that the events detailed must be accurate because they are to be found in the diaries of the writers, from which copious extracts are made. I do not intend to make any reference to this source of information. I have scrupulously avoided in my diaries any records of conversations, or any attempt to attribute to people whom I have met in the course of the day opinions regarding the subjects we have discussed. I have done this deliberately, because I believe that no conversation should be recorded in which the remarks of others are included, unless the account has been submitted to the people concerned, in order that they may have an opportunity of saying whether it is in accordance with their own recollection of what was said.

I write somewhat feelingly on this subject because in some books, lately published, references have been made to myself, and the authority for them is the diary of the writer. Not only have I found that the views and opinions attributed to me did not accord with my own recollections, but I have been credited with opinions exactly contrary to those which I have always held.

As an instance, I would refer to a conversation I am credited with in one volume by an anonymous author who, quoting from his diary, attributes to me a statement about a very distinguished statesman which I am quite certain I can never have made. The statesman in question is one of my oldest friends. We have always differed in politics it is true, but this has never made any change in our personal relationship and I have always entertained for him, not only a profound admiration, but a very genuine and sincere affection. Yet I am reported to have said, to some unknown person, something to the effect that he had received many honours and distinctions without having any real claim to them. It is impossible that I could have talked even to a most intimate friend, of another friend in terms of disparagement. But, in this case, as I have always had a great admiration for the abilities of the statesman in question and most sincere regard for him, I cannot believe I ever said anything capable of the interpretation placed upon it by the writer of the book, though his diary is his authority.

Apart altogether from the personal aspect of the case, many of those with whom I have discussed public men and public affairs

know very well that there is no opinion I have so consistently and resolutely contested as that which is expressed to this effect: "There is X who has served in one Government after another, and yet he is a man of no ability and of no real political force." At the obvious risk of being considered guilty of self-consideration, having served in Governments from 1886 to 1921, I have always disputed this contention, and have steadfastly maintained that no man remains in the Government of any Party, over a long period of years, in either of the Houses of Parliament, unless he possesses a very substantial claim to the confidence and esteem of his fellow countrymen.

While I have no doubt that my recollection is accurate in his case, I do not suggest that statements of this nature are deliberately invented. We all know how difficult it frequently is to remember the exact form which a particular conversation took on any occasion, and for this reason I hold that no remark should be attributed to others and repeated, without giving the individuals concerned the opportunity to verify the reference for themselves. If this had been done in this particular instance I am sure that I could have shown that my meaning had been quite misunderstood, or that I had never made the remark attributed to me.

Another illustration of this kind is contained in some widely read memoirs. It is said that I entertained a company at luncheon by some very amusing accounts of what had taken place at a Cabinet Meeting. Now all my friends know that I have been a stout and unfailing upholder of the old doctrine that what passes at a Cabinet must not be divulged by a Member of that Cabinet. Here again, I believe the authority given is the diary kept by the writer.

It must not be assumed that I am levelling any charge of bad faith or deliberate misrepresentation against the writers of these books. I am only giving some of the reasons which have led me to abstain from entering in my diary opinions attributed to other people which, though I should never reproduce them myself, might, when I am gone, be quoted and perhaps lead to misapprehension and error when it would be too late for anybody possessing first-hand knowledge of the facts to put matters right.

Consequently, I shall rely, first of all, upon my memory, and then upon the records which I have faithfully kept of various episodes in my life. They supply the material which enables me to deal, I hope with reasonable accuracy, with the various incidents

which have filled a somewhat busy and, as I have found it, most interesting life.

The great fact which is ever present to my mind as the governing one in my experience is that the world is a good place to live in ; that men and women, whatever their views may be, are full of kindly sympathy and warm-hearted generosity towards others, which tend to make them very charitable in the views they take of those from whom they find themselves differing in opinions and actions.

Notwithstanding the criticism of some of my friends, who have from time to time charged me with falling away from grace, I claim to be a strong, convinced Conservative. I have, therefore, inevitably found myself in the House of Commons and in the country at variance with many of my fellow countrymen. I do not, for the moment, refer to my Liberal opponents, because the tradition which has always made difference in political views one which should never be allowed to interfere with personal esteem and private friendship, has governed them equally with ourselves.

With the Labour Party the position is somewhat different. They have suddenly grown into a great and powerful Party. Their creed is to alter everything, and some of them have advocated the expedient of carrying politics into private life and of not associating with those from whom they differ in political opinion. It might therefore be expected that they would show a different attitude towards men like myself whom they regard as hide-bound Tories, and whom, they sometimes say, they believe to have no sympathy with the sufferings, the needs and the ideas of the men and women who depend for their existence upon their daily toil. I have had the great privilege and pleasure of knowing intimately many members of the Labour Party, from the days of Cremer, Rowlands and Broadhurst to the present time. Among them I can claim many friends from whom I have received kind and generous treatment, and whose friendship I very greatly value.

Needless to say I disagree with their political views and cannot admire many of the methods by which they seek to enforce them. However genuine may be their desire to improve the prospects and life of those whom—without any justification—they especially claim to represent, they have deprived themselves of any right to be called the " Labour Party." They have selected as their Leader a distinguished Parliamentarian who is not what

is commonly known as a Labour man, and they are receiving into their ranks men who have no claim whatever to be specially identified with Labour. I cannot help thinking that they will inevitably become the advanced section of what has always been called the Liberal or Radical Party, and if I am right they will have no more claim to make a special appeal to wage-earners than is enjoyed by any other political Party in the State. Their adoption of the Capital Levy as the main plank of their platform seems to me to be a danger signal which should unite people who believe in stability and security in opposition to them.

England is surely a wonderful place, and when I say England, I use the word because, so far, though many have tried to find a substitute, nobody has succeeded in discovering one which is generally acceptable as descriptive of the various parts of the British Empire. Our people are intensely virile, full of common sense, and can, I believe, be trusted to keep the good of the Country, and of the Empire, always foremost in their minds.

Take, for instance, a sport like Foxhunting; at first sight it would appear that it has no attractions for the working-man. He cannot afford to keep hunters, and in most cases he has no leisure or opportunity to follow hounds on foot or on a bicycle. Yet, will anybody deny that the meet of a pack of foxhounds is a very popular event, that it attracts people of all ages and classes, and that the vast majority derives great pleasure from seeing the hounds? —this notwithstanding the fact that the fox, which plays so important a part in the proceedings, is a great nuisance to many of them, and causes them serious loss by the destruction of their poultry.

This is, I think, a very good illustration of the common sense and good-feeling of the majority of our people. They know quite well that Foxhunting causes a great deal of money to be spent in the neighbourhood and creates a demand for many things which they help to produce, articles for which, without the existence of this great sport, there would be no sale, or, at the best, a very limited one. It is also a tribute to their innate good-feeling. They cannot follow hounds themselves, but they take great delight in seeing others in the full enjoyment of the sport.

Anybody who has hunted in Ireland will, I am sure, testify to the fact that, even in the most troublous times, hunting and sport of all kinds has been very popular in that distressful country.

It is true that sometimes, in periods of extreme agitation, hounds have been stopped hunting and poison even has been laid down, but these deplorable occurrences have been very few and far between, and, generally speaking, the sport has been welcomed.

I have said enough to show that whatever may be the difficulties which I, in common with all other people, have had to face, I look back upon my life with gratitude to my fellow countrymen.

I humbly acknowledge His Majesty's gracious consideration in permitting me to record the conversation with His late Majesty King Edward VII.

I have also to thank many friends who have given me invaluable assistance.

Long of Wraxall.

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MEMORIES

PART I

EARLY LIFE AND ASSOCIATIONS

CHAPTER I

EARLY DAYS—WALES

I HAVE always claimed that I am a citizen of the United Kingdom in the fullest sense of the words. My grandfather was an Englishman, my grandmother was a Scotswoman, my mother an Irishwoman, I was born in Bath and I lived until I was twelve years old in Wales. May I not assert that in my blood and in my upbringing I have many of the attributes of the people who belong to the four countries which form the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland ?

We have been settled in Wiltshire for several hundred years : it is true that owing to the troublous times of the Civil War a link was lost, and " Burke," the great autocrat in questions of genealogy and the authority and kindly framer of our pedigrees, declines to admit my descent from the original Longs of Wiltshire. But I am content to rely upon the abundance of local evidence which is forthcoming. Wraxall, the old home of my family, has never been the property of anybody but a Long since the old Manor House was built towards the end of the XIVth

or the very beginning of the XVth century. Rood Ashton, where we live, has remained in our family since 1610, and there are evidences of the existence of the family in several other parishes in Wilts, Somerset and Gloucestershire.

In my boyhood there were two eminent archæologists and genealogists living in Wiltshire, both Canons of the Church, by name Jackson and Jones, whom I knew well. The former, who enjoyed the friendship of the then Lord Bath and did a great deal to make known the interesting features of the old library at Longleat, always maintained that there could be no doubt whatever as to the direct descent of my family from the Longs of Wraxall. Canon Jones, on the other hand, shared the views of "Burke" and stoutly maintained in opposition to his brother Canon that there was a "missing link," and until it could be found, he was not prepared to accept us as blood descendants. But in the later years of his life, Canon Jones wrote a pamphlet in which he admitted he was mistaken, and that Canon Jackson's theory was the right one. I am sorry to say that I have been unable to find a copy of this little paper, though I have no doubt that there is one somewhere at Rood Ashton.

I only indulge in these reminiscences because I think it is a fact to be proud of that the family of which I am the head has been for several hundred years associated with Wiltshire and with the Parliamentary representation of that county. Our Parliamentary record is, I believe, unique. Longs, bearing the names of Walter, Robert or Richard, have sat for constituencies in Wiltshire, Somerset and Gloucestershire, and elsewhere, since the earliest times.

In the dining-room at Rood Ashton there hang pictures of many generations of the family, including Members of Parliament for various constituencies—for instance, there are three members of my own family who successively represented Wiltshire, three members of my mother's family who successively represented Wicklow, and various

SOUTH WRAXALL MANOR.
The Oak Screen in the Banquet Hall.

SOUTH WRAXALL MANOR.
The Drawing Room.

[*To face p.* 2.

collaterals, such as Mr. Quintin Dick, a son of the founder of the Bank of Ireland.

There is also a picture of my great-grandfather, Mr. Colquhoun of Killermont, who was Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland and whose son sat in Parliament for many years. Consequently we have had a continuous connection with Parliament down to the more recent generation when, both on my mother's and my father's side, members of the different families have been representatives of various constituencies in our Commons House of Parliament.

My paternal grandfather, who sat for Wilts from 1832 to 1865, and my maternal grandfather, who sat for Wicklow from 1852 to 1880, made one speech between them. It was delivered by my maternal grandfather in support of a Bill prohibiting pigeon shooting and lasted for *three minutes!* I am afraid their grandson has failed to live up to this high standard, but the story seems to emphasize the change which has taken place in Parliamentary customs during the ninety years which have passed since old Walter Long entered Parliament.

In my early days we lived on a property in Montgomeryshire which had come to us through the marriage of my uncle, my father's eldest brother, with a Miss Herbert. Her mother was widowed before she was born, and married as a second husband, Sir Henry Edwards of Plas Machynlleth in Merionethshire, and had one daughter by him. There was only about two years difference in the ages of the two children. Miss Herbert married my uncle, Miss Edwards married Lord Londonderry, the grandfather of the present Peer.

Miss Herbert, who, judging by her pictures, was a very beautiful woman and was said to be almost exactly similar in stature and appearance to the Venus de Medici, unhappily died at the birth of her first child, which also died. My uncle never recovered from the blow and followed

his wife shortly afterwards. As he died without a will, the Welsh property, which had come to him with his wife, passed to my grandfather, who handed it over to my father when he married.

My mother, a daughter of the late Mr. Fitzwilliam Dick, of Humewood, Co. Wicklow, was brought to London by the great-great-uncle to whom I have referred, Mr. Quintin Dick, and was, I believe, always regarded as his heiress, but when he died this turned out to be a misapprehension. He left his great possessions in strict trust to pass in the direct male line, and as my grandfather's son died an infant, the property passed to his nephew.

Be this as it may, we spent twelve very happy years at Dolforgan in Montgomeryshire among the warm-hearted and extremely kindly Welsh people, who made our life a very agreeable one. How different were the conditions of my boyhood as compared with those which now obtain! We boys, there were five of us, and five girls, were dressed in the roughest country clothes and we lived a thoroughly country life. The ponies for which Wales is so famous were provided for us in great numbers. They all ran loose in the park, and we were allowed the full enjoyment of them, on the clear understanding that we caught them ourselves, saddled, bridled and looked after them when we came in, and turned them out in the park again. The result of this was that we learnt to ride all kinds of animals, some of them very young, and we learnt also how to look after them. Here I may incidentally remark that this training stood me in very good stead in much later years.

Some time after I had the honour to be included in the Cabinet, I went to Scotland to make two or three speeches. I stayed with a very kind friend—dead now, I am sorry to say, a good many years—who was a very good sportsman, but not a hunting man. The hounds were to meet in the neighbourhood and he had no horse.

SOUTH WRAXALL MANOR.

[*To face p.* 4.

He asked a friend and neighbour whose custom it was to hunt for a part of the season in Scotland and a part in Leicestershire, to mount me. The friend most kindly agreed and lent me a really fine hunter. My host's wife, who was not a regular hunting lady, determined to go out also, and as she was inexperienced, took the coachman with her. They lost their way and did not return till very late.

When I got home at the end of the day I found the stables empty. I put the horse in a box, took off my coat and waistcoat, rolled up my sleeves and proceeded to make him comfortable, "doing" him very thoroughly. While I was thus engaged my host returned home, and finding nobody in the house, came to see if he could learn anything in the stables. He saw me in my breeches and boots, dressing down the horse. The light was none too good, my back was turned to him, so I did not see him and he did not recognize me. He addressed me somewhat as follows: "I say, my man, who are you, and have you seen anything of Mr. Long?" When I made myself known to him he was greatly surprised at finding a Cabinet Minister engaged in grooming a horse in a stable!

My father was a great farmer, had a considerable turn for landscape gardening, and above all was very fond of trees. In those days what are known as specimen trees—the various conifers, etc.—were not so common as they are now, and he did a great deal of beautiful and effective planting, work which was of much interest to us children, and from which we were able to learn a great deal about trees.

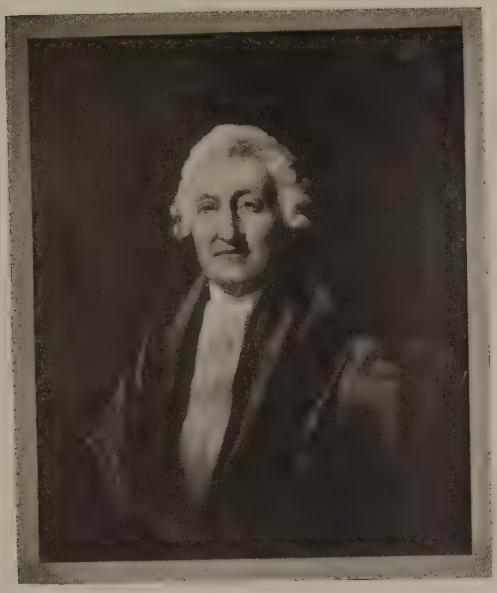
The village adjoining our house was a primitive Welsh one, true to the type of the time. We were a long way from the station, telegraphs were rare and telephones were unknown, consequently life in the village was of the most simple kind. The church was a large building, according to my memory, and we had a big family pew

which was very comfortable and from which a good view could be obtained of the main body of the edifice. The children of the school were all brought regularly, and sat in one of the transepts, in a group round an immense stove, which was the only means of warming the building. The headmaster sat in front of his flock and was armed with a long double cane. If he caught any boy misbehaving he would aim a whack at him with the cane. It not infrequently happened that he missed the particular boy and chastised two or three innocent urchins. Occasionally he brought the cane down with a resounding clang against the big iron chimney of the stove, which, of course, distracted the attention of the congregation from the good Rector, in whatever part of the service he was engaged.

We learnt, as I have said, to ride. We were also taught to do our share of farm work, and we frequently helped to milk the cows, while we always went to the dairy, morning and evening, and had a copious draught of fresh milk.

In addition we learnt the ways of animals and birds and we got some little knowledge of the brown trout from a little brook which ran through the park, so our life was a very happy, healthy and instructive one.

When we required the services of a doctor, a medical man from the neighbouring town, some six miles away, used to come and look after us. He always rode, whatever the weather, and to keep himself dry he wore an immense macintosh coat and extraordinary gaiters which, I believe, were called "antigropelos." His general remedy for our ills was a linseed poultice, a mustard plaster, bleeding, leeches and some very simple forms of medicine which, so far as I know, are now seldom, if ever, used. He would arrive chilled to the marrow, having ridden his rounds during the day. I can remember distinctly—still with a feeling of something like pain—the effects of his



My Great-Grandfather—Mr. Colquhoun, Lord Clerk Register of Scotland.

Speaker Lenthall being held down in the Chair. Walter Long (in the centre of the picture) assisting.

[*To face p.* 6.

cold hands as he proceeded to make his investigations. What would the parents of to-day think of this method of treating their offspring ?

We had to drive some ten or twelve miles to the station, and after my father entered Parliament he had, of course, to go to London for the Session. We made the journey to the station in a great lumbering chariot with a pair of immense fat coach horses which, when they were not required for the carriage, did their share of work on the farm. When we arrived at the station the horses were taken out and put in a horse-box and the carriage was dragged on to a truck and made fast. We then took our seats in it and proceeded to London by a very slow train, which took nearly all day to get there. The effect was to make us very tired and often very sick !

One incident remains imprinted on my mind as an illustration of the difference between those days and these, and in keeping with the kindly, generous nature of the Welsh people. There was a General Election in 1859, when I was only five years old, and my father stood for the Borough of Chippenham in Wiltshire. He was a man of very progressive ideas, and he thought it his duty to issue a circular to all his tenants on the Dolforgan estate informing them that he did not intend to exercise any influence over them in regard to their vote, but proposed to leave them absolutely free to record it in accordance with their own wishes and convictions. This pronouncement produced a great outburst of gratitude from his tenants, who came in a deputation after his election to thank him and to present him with an Address. It would seem to throw a strong light upon the customs of those times, and I deeply regret that I am now unable to find the document.

When he won his election at Chippenham we children were at Dolforgan, and I can remember hearing from the

nursery where I was, loud cheering in front of the house. I imagine I was suffering from some childish complaint and was not allowed out. Anyhow, I recollect seeing from the window a crowd of the neighbours assembled there. The old butler came up to tell me that they had come to say how they rejoiced that my father had won his election. Of course, at that age I knew nothing about politics, but I learnt afterwards that the great majority of these men were Liberals, and yet they did not hesitate to come to express their pleasure on learning that the "Squire" had been elected to Parliament, though they knew well that he was a Conservative.

There are many recollections of those days for which I cannot find room here, but I must mention my first tutor, the Rev. Mr. Tiddeman of the Forest, an adjoining village which was about a mile and a half away. I used to ride there on my pony, go through my work, and ride home again in the afternoon. He was a fine scholar, a strict but most kindly master, and when I left Wales to go to school he gave me a Greek Testament which he inscribed as from himself to myself—"From his affectionate friend και τεωφω ταίδαγωγω."

I have never forgotten the lessons he taught me, which were not confined to history and the classics. He never failed to impress upon me two great maxims. First to speak the truth, and secondly to be a gentleman, and he remarked that a gentleman did not mean a man who wore a black coat, but one who was thoughtful and considerate for others and who realized that the only true distinction between individuals is the dividing line between those who think of others and those who do not.

Whether I have succeeded or whether I have failed. I have never forgotten these instructions and I have, at all events, tried to live up to them. He has been dead many years, and it is more than sixty years since I used to ride

to his vicarage, but I know he would like to think I am glad to pay him this little tribute, and I pray there may always be many such men among those who are called upon to train the young idea.

In the year 1867 my grandfather, old Walter Long, died, and my father succeeded to the family estates, and we left Wales for Wiltshire. Under my grandfather's will the Dolforgan estate had to be sold, and so our connection with Montgomeryshire, to our infinite regret, terminated.

CHAPTER II

MY FATHER AND ROOD ASHTON

WITH our removal from Wales to Wiltshire came the first serious break in our home life and the first domestic sorrow. Shortly before we left Dolforgan my youngest brother died, to the great grief of us all. My mother suffered from a very severe illness, and before she began really to recover, my father's health broke down, and both my parents had regularly to winter abroad. My father, who had sat for Chippenham from 1859 to 1865, was elected in succession to his father as Member for North Wilts in 1865, but he only held the seat for a very short time, as failing health compelled him to retire.

This was, I believe, a great misfortune. He was a man of high ideals, great ability and very progressive views, and had he been blessed with good health would have made a name in the House of Commons. He was always keenly interested in Irish affairs ; my mother's father succeeded to his Irish estates in 1866 and we paid him regular visits at Humewood in County Wicklow. My father used to take me about the country, instilling into me the lessons to be learnt from all that was to be seen, and all he taught me has been of the greatest help to me in my political life. He always believed that it would be impossible to maintain the conditions which then existed in regard to the occupation of land, and, being a great believer in education, he was a very strong supporter of what we call Church schools, but he used to maintain that the educational system of Ireland was

extravagant and unsatisfactory and that it ought to be amended on lines somewhat similar to those adopted by Forster in 1870, which, however, did not apply to Ireland.

My mother outlived my father by many years and devoted most of her energies to hospital and nursing work. She lived the last years of her life at Exmouth, where she founded a hospital which, I am glad to say, is still in existence. In those early days cottage hospitals were the exception and not the rule, and in cases of illness or accident requiring special treatment it was necessary to take the sufferer a long way to the county hospital or infirmary. It was, therefore, a great and real blessing to have a small hospital on the spot which provided the necessary accommodation for the proper treatment of certain diseases and, above all, for operations.

Owing to the condition of my parents' health it was necessary for us to spend our winters in the South of France, where my father ultimately died. This caused us to lose the ordinary experiences of children in the country, who, in the Christmas holidays, become acquainted with the sports and pastimes peculiar to our land. As I am a great believer in this form of education, I think we suffered in consequence, though no doubt we gained in other ways. I believe I am right in saying that the years 1860–1870 saw the end of many of those old customs and institutions which had existed in this country for a great many years. As an instance of this I may mention an old club which used to meet at the Bear Hotel in Devizes. The "Bear" is a fine, old-fashioned hotel which has been very closely associated with the life of the northern part of the county. There is, I believe, a tradition that Sir Joshua Reynolds spent some period of time there, and even painted more than one picture within its walls. Whether this is true or not I cannot say.

The club to which I have referred used to meet there

several times a year. It was called, if I remember rightly, the True Blue Club, and was composed of country gentlemen who used to come in from the neighbourhood round the town—some of them driving a considerable distance—to discuss all sorts of questions concerning the life of the county. I remember my father taking me there on one occasion, but I was only permitted to have a glimpse of the room and the gathering—I was not, of course, admitted to the discussion. I have often thought it would be an excellent thing if clubs of this kind still existed. If the county gentlemen could meet occasionally on some common ground and discuss general questions free from Party politics or any bias of that kind, I think they would be better able to influence such things as local expenditure and local works than they are at the present time. County Councils have fully justified themselves, and are wholly admirable institutions, the members deserving the profound gratitude of their fellow-countrymen for their devotion to duty and for the splendid work they do, but, like all popularly elected bodies, they are a little too much inclined to think of the votes by which they are elected, and if they could meet their neighbours who are not their colleagues on the Council and discuss local questions, I believe much good would result. I cannot help regretting that these old clubs have disappeared almost entirely, and consequently life in the country districts is much more isolated, and each individual squire, whether he be the owner of many acres or owner of few, pursues his own course according to his own lights without much consideration of what his neighbour may be doing.

As it was, my father devoted himself to the care of his estate, farming, and other pursuits connected with country life. He was a very fine shot and fisherman, but had given up hunting, of which originally he had been very fond, as there was none to be had in Wales. When

we came to Rood Ashton that part of the country was not hunted. The nearest Meets were with the Duke of Beaufort's Hounds on the outskirts of his country, too far off to make hunting attractive to a man whose health was none too good.

Although my father was unable to hunt himself, one of my earliest experiences after we came to live at Rood Ashton was going with him to attend a meeting in a neighbouring town in order to start a pack of Foxhounds to hunt our country. This proved his love of our great National Sport and his desire to restore its pleasures to the part of the country in which he lived.

The period was a peculiarly interesting and epoch-making time in the history of agriculture. Progressive agriculturists believed that farming could only be successfully carried on if farms were larger than they had hitherto been, and if fields were made big enough to enable machinery to be more generally used.

There were none of the troubles which unhappily are now to be found in some agricultural districts in connection with labour, but there was trouble in a quite contrary direction. The industrial districts of the Midlands were rapidly developing, coal mines and tin-plate works in South Wales were expanding, and the younger men in the country villages were naturally tempted to transfer their labour where higher wages could be obtained and where there were better prospects of advancement in life. Existence for the labourer in the country village was dull in the extreme. There were no village institutes such as exist in almost every village to-day. There were no village entertainments to lighten and brighten the long winter evenings, and the extension of allotments and gardens to cottages had not taken place. Though my grandfather had been one of the earliest landowners in the country to give practical evidence of his belief in the

allotment system and had established allotments all over his property, it did not prevent the younger men from being influenced by the attractions of the towns and mining districts, and therefore labour had become a good deal scarcer than had previously been the case.

My father was, as I have said, a progressive man and a practical and scientific farmer. He spent a great deal of money in draining the land, throwing down fences, filling up ditches and making two or three fields into one. He was cordially and enthusiastically supported by his tenants, who thought they saw in the new methods great openings for the future. It is unnecessary to say that he never turned out a tenant in order to increase the size of a farm, but only did it when it appeared to be desirable in the interests of agriculture, and when a vacancy occurred owing to the death or retirement of a tenant who had nobody he was prepared to recommend as a successor. The rule on the estate has always been that a son shall succeed to the father, and failing a son, the tenant shall have the right to nominate his successor, the owner, of course, possessing a veto which he can exercise if he desires. But on the by no means numerous occasions when the outgoing tenant had no son to succeed, it hardly ever happened that he was not prepared to nominate someone else. So, happily, the occasions on which farms were thrown together were not numerous, for in almost every instance when this did occur, it has been found necessary, during my ownership, to return to the old conditions, redivide the farm, if not into the old actual divisions, and to make two out of one, involving, as a rule, considerable expenditure in order to make the houses and buildings suitable for a separate tenancy. I dwell upon this because I think it affords a valuable and instructive lesson and must make agriculturists reflect upon the peculiar difficulties which surround their industry. Here was a landowner of great

intelligence, with advanced ideas, a careful and constant student of agricultural conditions from the practical point of view, anxious only to advance the cause of the great industry with which he was connected and to make the fullest use of his knowledge and capital for the purpose, and yet I am afraid it must be admitted that the greater part of the money he expended has really been unproductive. The drainage proved to be too deep and has in many cases to be replaced by drains of a much more shallow type. The use of many kinds of machinery has proved to be too expensive, excepting in those cases where the acreage of the farm is big and the fields are both large in extent and level in character.

Our most recent experiences, gained in the war, when we were inclined to believe and hope that in the motor-tractor would be found the solution of the difficult problem —how to cultivate land efficiently at the lowest cost, so as to be able to market the crop at a price which would pay for its production—have, I am afraid, only shown that on a great deal of the corn-growing land of England we are still compelled to rely upon the plough drawn by horses.

In war time when the Government, acting through County Agricultural Committees, was making a great effort to increase the production of corn and when men and horses had become very scarce, motor-tractors were provided to do the work. In several cases which came under my observation the tenants invariably predicted that the tractor would fail, and in many cases this forecast turned out to be correct. I myself watched the efforts of a tractor to break up a field on my property. After many untoward incidents the driver gave it up in despair and abandoned the task. I mention this incident of a much later date because it would seem to confirm the experiences gained by me in respect of the work carried out by my father, which I desired for every reason to carry

on. These experiences both of his time and of mine would seem to show that the character of the land of England and the configuration of many parts of our country, make it very dangerous to introduce reforms in our methods of husbandry until experience gained on a small scale has justified us in believing that the new methods can be successfully employed.

My father was not content with altering farms in the way I have indicated, but he grubbed many acres of woodland, believing, rightly, that the cultivation of corn and foodstuffs was of much greater importance to the country than the existence of woodlands. Even in those days when wages were much lower than they are now and men worked longer hours the cost of grubbing woodland was tremendous, and after the land had been cleared and put under crops it required many years of careful nursing before it could be made really productive. In order that everything possible should be done to secure this most desirable end, my father occupied these lands himself for some years—an expensive process, as, of course, the lands were not contiguous, in some cases lying a considerable distance apart. To-day they are in the occupation of my tenants, and some of them, at all events, have thoroughly justified the work my father did. When I look at them, as I often do, and think of all the skill and labour and immense outlay of money which have been expended on them, I am compelled to ask myself whether the return in rents has from the financial point of view justified the experiment. But if I look at them purely from the point of view of food production, then I can safely say that my father left behind him a durable monument to his courage, his sagacity and his foresight.

He succeeded to the estate in the year 1867, and we suffered the irreparable misfortune of his loss in the year 1875. He therefore only lived eight years as the owner

of the estate, spent nearly every one of the winters of those years abroad, and yet during that very short time he undoubtedly greatly improved the estate. Drainage, water supply, roads, cottages and improved farm-houses and buildings were the result of his personal supervision and management. His early death—he was only forty-nine—was a terrible sorrow for all of us, and especially, perhaps, for myself who was called upon to succeed him just before I was twenty-one, in my judgment the very worst thing that can happen to anybody, even if he is endowed with great wealth, which, of course, was not the case with me. There is no minority during which the estate can be nursed by trustees, and the new owner is too young to be fit in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred to discharge the duties which devolve upon him.

In my case I cannot but feel that the loss of my father fell upon me with undue weight, because he was in every sense a wise and good father and we were the greatest possible friends. I had no uncles or near relatives who were able to help and advise me. My father left but one brother, a clergyman, in very bad health, and his brothers-in-law were fully occupied in their own affairs and lived too far away to be able to render me any assistance. Consequently at a very early age I was called upon not only to administer single-handed the affairs of a considerable estate, but also to aid my mother, who had never really recovered her health, in acting in what was really the capacity of guardian of my younger brothers and sisters.

These facts may seem to be too personal and domestic in their nature to be worth mentioning, and I should share this view to the full and therefore not refer to them were it not for the fact that I think our laws require alteration and that provision should be made for some sort of interregnum in those cases where the heir is either just under age or just of age, so that so young a person would not

exercise full control. After all, it is a mere commonplace to say that the ownership and administration of a landed estate carry with them immense responsibilities, and that much may easily be done, even with the best intentions, by a young, inexperienced owner which may adversely affect the lives of those who live on the estate and are largely dependent upon its good management for their happiness and comfort.

As an illustration of the truth of this I would mention one single case. My father had a farm which consisted of detached portions of land, about some two miles apart. The buildings were quite inadequate, and the successful conduct of the farm as constituted was almost impossible. The Home farm had been let before my grandfather's death, two-thirds to one tenant and a third to another. The tenant who occupied the main part including the house was not a satisfactory one, and was not farming to my satisfaction or to his own profit. I thought it was my duty to farm the land myself, and as the opportunity occurred in respect of the main part of the farm, with the house and buildings, I decided to resume occupation. In order to do this with a reasonable prospect of success, it was necessary for me to secure possession of the rest of the farm. I had to give notice to the sitting-tenant to quit the other lands I desired to occupy—that part of the Home farm which had been added to his original farm. This change did not really involve any material hardship, as it left him in possession of a very good house and buildings, cottages, etc., and amply sufficient land. He was one of the oldest tenants on the property, a thoroughly good yeoman of the old-fashioned type. He was devoted to my family and was a very great and kind friend of mine. There was never, I am happy to think, anything approaching a quarrel between us, but I know he always felt that I had acted unjustly by him and thought he had a grievance.

He was far too kindly a man and too good a fellow to dwell on this, and I do not think he suffered any loss. At all events, his two sons both became tenants of mine, one succeeding him and one taking an adjoining farm which fell vacant. None the less, I think it is a proof of the kind of mistake which may easily be made by the young owner who has nobody to advise him and who, acting with the best of intentions, may easily inflict hardship upon those who are to some extent dependent upon him.

No doubt conditions have entirely altered since then. Various Agricultural Holdings Acts have given security and protection to the occupying tenant. None the less, I believe that there should be some machinery created which would make it impossible for the young men who are really only fresh from schools and colleges to exercise powers which, if unwisely employed, may have the direct effects upon the lives of others.

Those who do me the honour to read these Memoirs may be inclined to criticize this suggestion and to ask why, if I hold these views, I have not tried to introduce and carry such a reform through Parliament. My only answer must be that other questions more pressing and more important have pushed it on one side, but I cannot help hoping that another generation may see that there is some wisdom in these views and effect a change which, I believe, would strengthen the position of owners and do something to lessen the risk of interference with the lives and happiness of other people.

I have no sympathy with those who are always attacking owners of land, seeking to make them the objects of what I regard as unjust and unreasonable legislation. I am not prepared to admit that there is all the difference which they try to prove exists between the owner of a landed estate and the owner of a great mill or factory. That there is a difference, and a very great one, it would be idle

to deny. The occupier and the resident upon the land cannot move his capital and labour with the same ease and absence of expense which is the case with tenants of industrial premises or the employee in an industrial concern. They are to a large extent tied to the land of their birth, or if not absolutely tied to it, they have been so long associated with one part of the country, one county, even one village, that to move means tearing everything up by the roots and starting again in what must be wholly new surroundings, and although it is true that this peculiarity of country life is not so strongly marked to-day as it used to be in the days of which I am writing, yet it is still true, and does not alter my view that there should be some limit to new powers.

CHAPTER III

HARROW

WHEN we moved from Wales to Wiltshire my father decided to send me to a tutor. I was subject to asthma of a very bad type, and as it was doubtful whether I should ever be strong enough to go to school, I was sent to a Cambridge friend of my father's who held a living in the village of Hilperton, some three and a half miles from Rood Ashton. Mr., afterwards Canon, Tait was a High Churchman of the old-fashioned type, a good scholar and a powerful preacher, but a man of violent and at times almost uncontrollable temper. When a pupil failed to appreciate the true meaning of the lessons he was trying to instil, he would suddenly lose his self-control, jump up and go for the sinner with the first stick upon which he could lay his hands. This proceeding often led to very ludicrous consequences. The boy for whom the punishment was intended, realizing what was coming, would at once run round the room, which was not by any means a large one. Our tutor, who was a very big man, very heavy and not very active, would pursue the boy round and round the room. As the other boys sitting at the table would do what they could to impede him, the consequence was frequently disaster. However, it is fair to remember that when the physical exercise had exhausted Mr. Tait, he recovered his temper as quickly as he had lost it. No further attempt was made to punish the culprit, and we resumed our studies as if nothing had happened.

The Rectory was surrounded by a large and beautiful

garden, which was separated on one side by a wall from a Nonconformist Chapel. For those who did not belong to the Church of England Mr. Tait had an old-fashioned, but unjust, dislike, which led him to indulge in diatribes against the Nonconformists. His attitude gave rise to an incident for which I suffered severely, and as I thought at the time, unjustly. I have since had cause to be thankful for the lesson which I then learnt, the moral of which was that one should not always take strong language at its face value, and above all one should not assume that those who attack others, even with great vehemence, desire that their language should be translated into action.

After one of Mr. Tait's outbursts and during the play hour, I climbed the wall which divided the Rectory from the Chapel. I found a meeting being held there, and I could hear the voice of the Minister addressing his congregation. I thought it was a rare opportunity to show the contempt of the Church for the Chapel. One of the coping stones of the wall was broken, so I selected one of the larger pieces, and with some difficulty succeeded in hurling it through the window. The Minister very promptly came and reported the occurrence to the Rector, demanding at the same time that the perpetrator of the outrage should be brought to justice. Whereupon Mr. Tait summoned us to his presence, told us of the complaint, and demanded whether any one of us had been guilty of the offence. I, of course, at once owned up, though I take no credit for doing so as I really believe I thought the Rector would consider I had done a meritorious deed. However, I was soon disillusioned. He told me I had been guilty of a hideous offence, that I must at once apologize to the Minister, and to enforce his remarks he proceeded to administer to me severe corporal punishment. He had apparently forgotten his diatribes against the Nonconformists, of which I did not venture to remind him, but

I realized for the first time that people sometimes say what they do not mean, and that full respect must be rendered to those who differ from us.

I spent a profitable time under Mr. Tait and I owe him much for sound and helpful grounding in both the classics and mathematics and in life in general, for he remained a wise, kind and helpful friend of mine till he died.

From there I went to a private school in the village of Amesbury on Salisbury Plain, kept by a Mr. Meyrick. When I think of this school I realize as fully, perhaps, as it is possible, how completely things have changed since I entered its portals, fifty odd years ago. It was really conducted more like Dickens' Dotheboys Hall than I could have imagined any establishment to be carried on. Our schoolroom was a wood and corrugated iron building connected with the house in which we lived by a long wooden staircase and passage. The play-ground was small and very inferior, and the cricket ground was a rough piece in the middle of the play-ground. The Headmaster was a kindly, well-meaning man, who believed in the use of the cane and was very amenable to flattery. Archery was in those days a very popular pastime, and as he was very proficient as a bowman, any reference to his successes in the county competitions always produced the most satisfactory results! The control of the school was shared by his wife, who, unfortunately, had very strict views as to the way in which boys ought to be managed and did not share her husband's views about archery and its prizes. She took an active part in the management of the school, and among other things used regularly to administer every week a dose of medicine which was not unlike Mr. Squeers' brimstone and treacle. However, I spent two years there without much unhappiness and look back upon it all with a good deal of gratitude. I was sent there because my father was advised that it would probably cure my

asthma. This it certainly did. When I went I was liable to violent and very painful attacks, which had disappeared when I left and from which I have never suffered since.

Of the boys who were there with me, few, I am afraid, have lived to the present time. Amongst them one, at all events, has remained a very great friend of mine through all the years, Major-General Calley, as he is now, of Burderop Park in our county, a distinguished soldier, an ex-Colonel of the 1st Life Guards, and a devoted worker in connection with everything concerning the county.

When the Headmaster was bidding me farewell, he addressed me somewhat as follows : " Well, good-bye, my dear Long; I am very sorry to lose you. I hope and I believe that you have derived benefit from your sojourn here. I am afraid, however, that you will not get on in the world because you talk too much ! "

From there I went to Harrow and took the Fourth Shell. It was a rule at Mr. Meyrick's school that any boy who took a form above the lowest in the school to which he went, was entitled to ask for a half-holiday for his old school. My satisfaction may be imagined when I was able to write to my old Headmaster and tell him that, after all, I had not made a bad start, as there were several forms below the one I had taken, and remind him of my right to ask for a half-holiday.

I spent five glorious years at Harrow. Here again the changes are wonderful. When I went there bullying was rife. There were many boys who were much older than boys ought to be when they are in lower forms, but could not be removed, as in those days there was no rule of superannuation. Some of them were bullies, pure and simple. They could not do their own work. They were constantly in trouble. They made the lower and smaller boys fag for them, do their " lines "—the usual form of punishment—and, in addition, treated them with

great cruelty. However, I got through all this very well, was soon able to hold my own, and I look back upon my time at Harrow as, perhaps, the happiest of my life. The cares were slight and soon passed away, and the joys were very great.

I was fortunate enough to get into the Sixth Form, into the cricket and football elevens, to be Captain of my own House football eleven and to play in two Cock House matches in which my House was triumphant. The last occasion perhaps being worthy of mention as we played two drawn games with Mr. Middlemist's House and had to play off the final in the Easter term. One of our eleven had left the Christmas term and therefore we had to play the twelfth man—an obvious disadvantage. I had suffered a somewhat severe injury to my groin in the last match of the winter term, and when I came back I was for a time very lame. I had actually to be carried down to the ground for the final match, but as soon as I got hot the lameness passed off. The weather had been exceptionally wet and the ground was in consequence very heavy. However, we won the match by one base and became Cock House.

I don't think I ever tasted such complete happiness again until we won our match against Eton the following July by five wickets. We had been beaten at Lord's for five years and we were opposed to a very strong eleven, which included the two Lytteltons, Edward and Alfred. They won the toss and made about 150 runs. I went in second wicket down and, whilst in, saw three of our best wickets fall in three successive balls. Walker, and Leaf the Captain, were two of the victims. We had not then scored 50 runs, but before I succumbed the score had risen to about 100. Eventually we equalled Eton's total and finally won by five wickets. I shall never forget the delirium of the moments which followed the match.

In those days Lord's was very different from what it is now. The old pavilion, with its paled fence, and the old tennis court, were both in existence. There were only ropes round the ground, no covered stand or private boxes, except a few in the grand-stand. Spectators used to drive up, indeed ride up, and it was quite easy to see a match in comfort, provided one was prepared to lie on the grass, or sit on an unprotected wooden seat.

I had a somewhat unpleasant experience, as it was the fashion then, as it is now, to "chair" the members of the victorious eleven. In company with two or three others I was suddenly seized and carried round the ground and back to the pavilion. The entrance by the steps was blocked and my carriers thought it easiest to dispose of me by passing me over the railings. Unfortunately, they let me go so that I came down somewhat violently upon the edge of the palings. The pain was not inconsiderable, as may be imagined, but I forgot it in the delightful knowledge that we had "beaten Eton" and that my school-fellows had thought me worthy of the honour of being carried round the ground.

These may seem trifles to those who have never been to a Public School, or to those who do not believe in a Public School education, but I recount them because my school life at Harrow, ending as it did with the great cricket match, has left an indelible impression upon my mind, and I owe to Harrow absolutely and entirely anything I may have done in my subsequent life which my countrymen may deem well done.

In those days the Public Schools of England were limited in number, and there were, as compared with to-day, few competitors in their contests. Schools which then existed, but which did not feel themselves entitled to compete, and were also precluded by the difficulty and expense of transport, have since entered the lists, and many of them

have proved themselves very worthy competitors, as, for instance, during this year, Radley very nearly won the racquet competition, being only beaten in the finals by the Rugby pair.

There is much discussion to-day as to the advantages of a Public School education. I am not ashamed to confess that I firmly believe in the advantages which are to be derived from it, as I hold that the boys become imbued with the traditions of the school, with a sense of citizenship and responsibility, which helps them enormously in later life. It would be idle to pretend that boys who have never been to a Public School do not frequently succeed in their careers and beat Public School boys. This, I hope, will always be the case. Nevertheless, I am satisfied that when parents can manage to do so, they will be well advised to send their sons to a good Public School. I should like to add that, when they have a family connection with any particular school, they should stick to it, unless they have a real reason to believe that it has fallen on evil days and that it is not advisable to send their boys there.

A Public School is a true microcosm of the world. It is a republic with true Conservative tendencies. Yet republican though they are and firmly though they adhere to their own peculiar form of self-government, there is no place where our Sovereign and his Queen, or indeed any member of the Royal Family, are more enthusiastically received than when they pay a school the honour of a visit.

After all, if it is contended that modern experience shows that a Public School is not essential to success in life, we who believe in them, who love and honour our school and feel we can never repay the debt we owe it, can urge in reply—" the proof of the pudding is in the eating "—and point to the fact that to-day the old Public Schools are stronger than ever they were, while new schools are almost yearly coming into existence.

I should like to say a great deal more about Public Schools and about Harrow in particular, but I feel that I have said enough for the present, and that I ought to reserve any detailed reference to this great subject for some future occasion, should it occur. For the moment I am content to believe that the Public School system has a firm hold upon the confidence of the country, and that the day is far distant when their existence is likely to be menaced.

Memories of Harrow would be quite incomplete without a passing reference to some of the characters among the School employees. First came Sam Hoare, who was "Custos" during the whole of my time. A stout, clean-shaven man with a burly figure, and a temper which depended very much on the state of his liver. When Sam was in a good temper, which happily he generally was, he was the kindest and best friend imaginable. On his bad days he was a terror to all concerned, whether an under-master, Captain of the Eleven or Head of the School. To the lower boys he was little short of an absolute tyrant. But he was a great School institution, and I believe all who were there in his time remember him with admiration and affection. He had a room under the old school opening into the school yard, where he kept the books in which racquet and fives courts were what were called "bagged," which meant entering your name for a certain day and hour, and he exercised the most rigorous control over the entries. He enjoyed the privilege of selling bats, balls and all the cricket requisites, in addition to the peculiar bats and hard balls, something like a big tennis ball, which were used for "school-yard cricket," a peculiarity, I believe, of Harrow.

One thing about which he was very like adamant and materially affected the degree of favour which he bestowed upon the boys, was their purchase from him of all the materials they required. So far as I can recollect he did

not say anything if he found you were going elsewhere, but he made it quite clear by his manner that he cordially disapproved of what you were doing and that you could not expect favour at his hands unless you were prepared "to give as well as take." Sometimes, I think, there was a shrewd suspicion amongst the boys that the giving predominated over the taking! Nevertheless he was a great feature in Harrow life, and if it be true that new boys had to approach him with respectful or even reverential demeanour, it is equally true that he proved himself a staunch, reliable friend, and his unsurpassed knowledge of Harrow, its rules, customs and methods, made him an invaluable mentor and friend.

Under him was a man called "Noggs," who, many of us thought, had rather a hard time. It was his duty to keep the school and yard tidy and to ring the school bell. What his wages were I have not the least idea, but I fancy his hours of labour would astonish the workers of to-day. If Sam happened to be in a bad temper, "Noggs," who was always at hand, was the immediate victim, and I always think of him as one of the most patient, industrious men that I have ever encountered. The two were a wonderful combination, and undoubtedly had their share, in their different capacities, in moulding some special characteristics of Harrow school-boy life.

Long after I left, Sam was succeeded by Tichener or "Tich," as he is familiarly called. He had been boxing instructor, and a very excellent instructor he was. He was a great friend of all Harrovians, past and present, but as I am writing only of my own time, I speak of him as I have known him as an Old Harrovian. He taught my dear eldest son to box, and he was always very proud of him as one of his pupils. Like Sam, he has a wonderful memory for faces and names. He not only knows all the boys in the school, but he has an unfailing recollection of

them when they come back as Old Harrovians, and appears without an effort to be able to talk to them of their own school-days and of many, comparatively speaking, small incidents which occurred in their time.

Another well-known school character was Gilbey, who was in charge of the cricket ground. He had, I believe, played for Middlesex. He was a sound lob bowler, and was able to give boys excellent practice on the Sixth Form ground. His coaching was not to be despised, but in those days when the numbers of the school were much less and the cricket grounds much smaller, Harrow cricket was a very different affair from what it is to-day. We were much more frequently successful in the annual match against Eton at Lord's than we have been in recent times, and I always think it was in some degree due to the fact that Gilbey not only gave the boys good practice but, also by his example, led them to learn lob bowling, which seems now to have disappeared. Believing, as I do, that no school eleven is complete without a good lob bowler, I think we suffered badly when Gilbey's time came to an end.

There was another regular professional on the cricket ground called Jim Hartfield, a good-looking little fellow with curly black hair, somewhat of the gipsy type. He was an excellent practice bowler, medium round-arm, and, though not an accomplished performer, knew how to keep boys, when practising at the nets, playing the various kinds of balls which they found most difficult to cope with. Old Jim was very popular with us all; he had a peculiar custom which, so far as I know, was never practised by any other umpire. At the conclusion of every "over" he was not content to call it in the ordinary fashion, but in solemn tones he used to declare, "The balls is *h*over, gentlemen." I know that it was usual not to think much of him, but in my opinion he was the kind of professional bowler that a school ought to have.

The cricket field in my time was very different from what it is now. The Sixth Form ground was surrounded by a low post and rail fence, with a little hedge and ditch dividing it on the west side from the road; now there are palings all round. The railings of my day played their silent part in teaching boys to stop balls. The practice wickets were at the north end of the ground, and there were only nets between the wickets, none behind. The result was that the cricket fags had to do long-stop without any wicket-keeper, to the members of the Sixth Form game who were practising.

I remember my own experience in my first summer term on one of the early occasions when I was fagging. Spencer Gore, who was Captain of the Eleven, was bowling. He was fast and rather erratic, and the wicket being fiery the ball flew about in every direction. One would come rather wide to the off, the next equally wide to leg, and then perhaps two or three bumping and flying about over the batsman and the wicket. If the fag failed to stop the ball it was a hundred to one that it went through the rails on to the road and consequently was badly cut about. On the occasion to which I am referring either the bowler was more than usually erratic or I was unduly careless in stopping the ball, but after several had passed me and had been retrieved in a battered condition from the road, the Captain of the Eleven walked slowly up the pitch, removed the middle stump, called me up to him and said, "I'd have you know, young fellow, that it is your business to stop the ball, not to let it go by. Look at the damage that has been done to this ball." Whereupon he grasped me by the shoulder, twisted me round and proceeded to administer chastisement with the stump. Of course it hurt a little, but there was nothing dreadful about it, and it woke me up and convinced me that if I wanted to avoid a recurrence of this painful episode, I must learn to stop the

ball, wherever it might come! Not very long after when I was again behind the wicket, the Captain of the Eleven called me to him when we had finished and told me I had greatly improved, and that he had no fault to find with the work I had done that morning. His kindness on this occasion entirely wiped out all recollections of the previous episode.

In those days long-stops were a regular part of the field, and I always consider that I became quite a decent "field," able to gather up a ball quickly and return it accurately, largely to the training I got behind the practice wickets. Though I do not know how others regard the matter, I, for one, always regretted when the modern net system was adopted, and boys no longer had to learn how to stop balls coming in every direction.

I have purposely kept to the end any reference to those two wonderful friends of Harrow—The Hon. Frederick Ponsonby, afterwards Earl of Bessborough, and the Hon. Robert Grimston, younger brother of the Earl of Verulam. They gave the whole of their time in the summer term to Harrow cricket, Mr. Ponsonby coaching on the Sixth Form ground, Mr. Grimston on the Fifth Form. What Harrow cricket owes to them it is impossible to say. I was fortunate enough to serve as a pupil under both of them. They were totally different in their methods and in their ideas of how the game should be played, but absolutely alike in their devotion to Harrow and to cricket, and in their determination to do everything in their power and to give the best they had in them to training the boys of Harrow.

Lord Bessborough's straw hat now hangs in the Old Harrovian Club on the top side of the Sixth Form ground and is an object of veneration by all Old Harrovians. I can, of course, only express my own opinion, but I have always considered Mr. Ponsonby was a better cricketer,

a better judge of the game than was Mr. Grimston, and about the best coach any boy could have. He used to spend all his time at the practice wickets or watching the matches. At the former he passed from boy to boy promptly pointing out mistakes and giving advice, which was always sound and was invariably couched in the kindest, gentlest tone, appearing to be a suggestion rather than an order.

I remember that Mr. Ponsonby produced one of the first catapults ever used in cricket. He would erect this at the practice wicket and give us some excellent schooling with it. I do not know when this particular machine dropped out altogether, but it seemed to me to be, in the hands of a man who used his brain as Mr. Ponsonby did, an effective addition to the available supply of bowling, whether amateur or professional.

Mr. Ponsonby was a great friend of my father's, and I had the good fortune to know him before I went to Harrow; he showed me many unforgettable kindnesses, not by any means confined to cricket. He was a man of the highest character and ideals, and though, so far as I know, he never interfered between Masters and boys, he had a way peculiarly his own of making his comments upon something you had done, and from my own experience I can safely say he never spoke in vain. He always left one convinced that to act up to his ideals would be to reach a better and higher standard than had hitherto obtained and make one a more creditable son of Harrow.

When I say he showed me many kindnesses, I desire to emphasize the fact that he never allowed "personal friendships at home" with a boy to lead him to show any special favour. He had, of course, a wide circle of relations and friends, and therefore knew a good many boys before they came to the school, or, if he had not actually met the boys themselves, he knew the parents. But beyond a kindly greeting and friendly advice such as I have

mentioned, he never allowed any difference to appear in his treatment of one boy as compared with another.

His authority on the cricket ground was never disputed, his position as guide, philosopher and friend of all boys was unchallenged, and to him and to Mr. Grimston was undoubtedly due in the main the long series of successes which Harrow obtained at Lord's.

Mr. Robert Grimston was no less a friend of Harrow and of Harrow cricket, though his influence was used more in the direction of maintaining the spirit of cricket, upholding discipline and so promoting the true cricket feeling, than in actual coaching. No trouble was too great for him. He used to be seen rolling the Fifth Form ground in the hottest weather as if he were a ground-man. It was always said that his excitement, on the day of an Eton and Harrow match, was so great that he could not bear to look on, but used to retire to the church adjoining the cricket ground and meditate in seclusion.

I have left to the end any reference to the Masters of my day. The Headmaster was Dr. Butler, afterwards Master of Trinity, whose name and record are so well known. I will content myself with saying that during my time at the school he was the kindest of friends and remained so till the end of his life. He loved Harrow passionately and gave to it the best of his life, and Harrow loved him. The scene of his funeral in Harrow Church Yard on the top of the Hill is one that can never be forgotten by those who were present. It blew a gale of wind and poured with rain, but the large crowd of mourners were indifferent to the elements, thinking only of the great man they had lost and the blank made in Harrow life.

The name of the under-master which occurs to me especially is that of Mr. Harris, the last under-master, for when he retired his place was not filled. He was of

the old-fashioned type, very proud of Harrow traditions and determined to maintain them at any cost—sometimes the boys thought at their expense, but he was universally respected.

Mr. Westcott, afterwards Bishop of Durham, was my first tutor. He only remained a short time, and was followed by Mr. Hutton, who was himself an old Harrovian and had been in the Eleven. He married a charming Frenchwoman, who made an excellent Master's wife, and under their influence the house, in its structural side and in its general character, was entirely reformed.

Mr. Holmes, another of the old order, took very keen interest in the athletics of the School. Of him I remember the following incident. A boy in the Form, whom I will call Z, had a very good chance of getting into the Eleven, but he was of a singularly unenterprising spirit and ultimately failed to get his flannels. On one occasion he was put up to construe, when the following remark was made by Mr. Holmes: "Z, what is your view of the real meaning of the paragraphs you have just translated?" Poor Z looked at him blankly, made no reply for some seconds, and then mumbled something inarticulate and certainly not accurate. Whereupon the Master said in the sternest possible tone: "Sit down, Z; you will never succeed in life, because when a ball is hit in your direction you can't keep your feet together and stop it; you're a failure!"

Special reference must be made to one Master who was dearly loved by all Harrow boys, the Rev. John Smith. He remained a Master of the Fourth Form to the very end, certainly all my time. He was one of the very best men I have ever known, unselfish and pure-minded. He devoted the greater part of his time to conversations with boys, especially those in their first term, trying to instil into them really good ideals and standards of life.

He was a man of simple faith, and I am afraid, though

it may naturally be expected, he was occasionally very badly imposed upon. I remember on one occasion after there had been a collection in Chapel he told two or three of us—I repeat his words so far as I recall them—that he had had a most delightful experience on the previous Saturday. A boy had come to him and asked him for twopence. All his pocket money, the boy explained, amounted to one sovereign, and he wished to put this in the plate on Sunday, but was afraid it would be regarded as swagger. So he wanted two pennies so that he could put the sovereign between them and nobody would really know what he had given. Dear old John Smith! He believed this to be an example of unostentatious well-doing and he dwelt upon it at great length. Needless to say, he had given the twopence, and I am afraid that we all believed that this was all the contribution that went into the plate! However, the incident gave the dear old man immense happiness for a long time, and he often referred to it.

He was a great character in the School, did an immense amount of splendid work among the boys, and I am confident that his memory will be cherished, by all who knew him, as that of a saint upon earth.

He had one curious theory, which was that if you behaved properly in this world you would occupy in the next the particular place in games which you believed you could fill satisfactorily here. If a boy's ordinary position in the cricket field was cover-point the dear old man would say: "Now, Laddie, if you will only do your duty, be upright and truthful and cleanly in your habits and work hard, you will go to Heaven and will always field at "cover-point"!

If boys thought they detected a weak point in his argument and pressed him for more detailed information, he would put them off with the simple remark: "That will be all right, Laddie; God will provide."

CHAPTER IV

OXFORD

FROM Harrow I went to Christ Church, or "The House," as it is always called. I had the misfortune to lose my first two terms owing to an attack of typhoid fever, contracted through the opening up of some drains just outside my window in Canterbury Quad. Then came the death of my father, and the consequent breakdown in my mother's health. She found herself unable to be far from me, so she took a house in Oxford, and as she became subject to very serious nervous attacks I was liable to be summoned to her house, which, of course, gravely interfered with my College life.

I was passionately fond of riding and of horses, but I made a great mistake in giving up cricket—excepting on the College ground—for polo.

I had the good fortune to be elected a member of Loder's Club, one of the happiest associations of my life. It was one of the rules of the Club that nobody should be elected until he had been in residence a term, so that the Club might form some idea of his fitness for membership. There was another Club in "The House" not limited by a rule of this kind. One evening when I was sitting in my rooms in Canterbury Quad, and feeling rather lonely—nearly all my Harrow contemporaries had gone to Cambridge—the door of my room opened and a man walked in. He said: "Look here, I am unknown to you, but my name is Walter Campbell. I am a member of Loder's Club, of which I daresay you have never heard. Another Club will invite

you to become a member; I should like to advise you to decline, and to wait till next term, when we shall probably ask you to join us."

I thanked him warmly, but I confess that when he left I felt considerably puzzled as to how I should act if the invitation reached me from the other Club. He turned out to be a true prophet. In due course the invitation arrived. I thanked the ambassador for the honour proffered me and told him that as I was a stranger to Christ Church, its Clubs and its ways, I would prefer to reserve my decision until the next term, when I should know more about things in general. We then talked about other matters, and after a while he left me. I heard nothing more. Long afterwards he told me that, at the time, he fully understood what had happened, and he felt I was quite right in my desire to join Loder's ; for loyal though he was to his own Club he did not attempt to conceal the fact that the " Christ Church Society " was the oldest Club and had a prior claim upon the members of " The House."

Dear old " Bumble " Campbell ! I very soon got to know him intimately. He was a most delightful comrade and friend. He was no " sportsman." He did not ride, row, play cricket or football, or take part in any other sports, so far as I know, but he was a wonderful musician, and could sing and play almost anything at a moment's notice. He was the wisest and kindest of guides to men younger than himself. In one of our earliest talks he told me that there were two things in " The House " which ought to be put down. First, too much drinking (not drunkenness) at " Wines " in rooms. Secondly, gambling. I very soon found that he had spoken truly.

Gambling in a certain set was very bad indeed. I once went to a " Wine " in the rooms of a friend and neighbour of mine in Wiltshire. I knew his father's position and that his allowance was a very moderate one. I was horrified

to see that he lost that night more than his whole year's allowance and that he gave the winner a simple I.O.U. I went next day to expostulate with him. I had no right to offer him advice, but I felt sure that he was embarking on a career which, if pursued, could only have one end. I made up my mind that if I was fortunate enough to acquire any influence, I would use it to shorten the " Wines " and to put an end to gambling. I believe I can claim that I succeeded in both these objects.

Another evil I found to be in existence was that London tradesmen visited men in their rooms, took orders from them on the understanding that the bills were ultimately to be sent to the parents or guardians, and that the money which was advanced should be included as a part of the bill under the head of clothing supplied. I made up my mind to stop this. In order to do so I interviewed the tradesmen in question. I told them that I knew what was going on, and that unless they abandoned the practice I should go straight to the Dean, give him all the information I possessed and beg him to forbid them access to the College. So far as I know, this resulted in putting an end altogether to the mischievous custom.

The then Dean of Christ Church was Dr. Liddell, an ideal Dean, with a bevy of very beautiful daughters. One of them—Miss Edith, a most lovely girl—was, we were told, engaged to be married to Aubrey Harcourt. Between Peckwater and Tom Quad there was an archway called " Kill-Canon." I believe the name was due to the tradition that this draughty place resulted in the deaths of old gentlemen who had long been Canons of Christ Church. Whether this was true or not I do not know. There was a bedroom over the archway which we believed to be inhabited by Miss Edith. So when we heard the glad news of the engagement we decided to go and serenade her. After a while, as our musical efforts met with no

response, one member of the party threw some handfuls of gravel up to the window. Presently it opened and from it there emerged a head wearing an old-fashioned night-cap, and a voice gently but firmly asked us what we wanted and why we were disturbing his night's rest. I need hardly say no answer was forthcoming, and we retired in confusion. In the morning we learned that the Archbishop of Canterbury was staying at the Deanery and that Miss Edith had vacated her room in his favour. He inquired in the morning why he had been disturbed just after he had gone to rest. I am afraid that the Dean was never enlightened as to the cause of the intrusion.

It may not be generally known outside Oxford circles that Miss Alice Liddell, another of the Dean's daughters, was supposed to be the heroine of "Alice in Wonderland," the charming composition of Lewis Carroll, who was Mr. Dodgson, a great mathematician and a tutor of "The House."

At that time Mr. Vere Bayne was Senior Censor and chief executive officer in "The House." Chapel was at 8 a.m. and everybody was expected to attend four days a week. One of my friends strongly objected to this early rising. He wrote to the Censor telling him that as he entertained no belief in religion, he felt that he ought not to be asked to attend Chapel. Mr. Bayne sent for him and addressed him in those courtly, cultivated phrases which he invariably employed. He said: "Mr. Blank, I understand you entertain an objection, on principle, to going to Chapel?" "Yes, sir," said my friend. "Well," said Mr. Bayne, "the authorities would not dream of forcing any member of 'The House' to attend Chapel if he entertains conscientious objections, but I am sure you will not object to paying me the courtesy of leaving a card upon me six days a week at five minutes to eight precisely. Of course, if on reconsideration you find

that your views are not firmly established, you can attend Chapel." My friend had no difficulty in overcoming his scruples, preferring Chapel four days a week at eight o'clock to card-leaving six days a week at five minutes to eight!

Mr. Bayne was a splendid specimen of the old-fashioned college don, strict, austere, even distant in his manner, but always a kind friend if asked for advice and splendidly loyal to the best traditions of "The House." He retired in due course. Many years afterwards, finding myself in Oxford, staying with my old friend Sir William Anson, the Warden of All Souls, I called and inquired for Mr. Bayne, Anson having told me that he was ill and had been removed to the Acland Nursing Home. When I got there the Matron informed me that he was so ill she thought it doubtful if he would last through the night; she would give him my message of affection and respect, but she could not let me see him. She returned bringing a characteristic reply from him. In the morning when I awoke, I heard the great bell tolling because he had passed away. With him went a very fine example of the old-fashioned Oxford and Christ Church spirit.

One other story of him I must tell. He knew nothing of sport in any form. He was, I think, of somewhat humble origin, and had raised himself by hard work and scholarship to the high position he occupied.

Hunting in my time was very prevalent in Christ Church. In fact, I think the authorities were far more lenient in this respect that they ought to have been. Some of the residents in "The House" had their own servants and, as there were no bells in the rooms, used to summon them by blowing a hunting horn. The resulting pandemonium may be imagined! One day Mr. Bayne sent for me and said: "Mr. Long, I know you hunt. Provided that the parents and guardians of the gentlemen of 'The

House' do not disapprove of this, the authorities of 'The House' offer no objection; but we do consider that those who hunt ought not to interfere with the comfort and convenience of others. There is a great deal of horn-blowing in 'The House.' May I ask you to convey to your fellow sportsmen that it would be to the general advantage of 'The House' if they would take their horns with them and blow them out hunting instead of blowing them in the College." To which I replied: "Well, sir, I am afraid that the Masters of the various packs with which we hunt would strongly object if undergraduates, or anyone in the hunting field, were to adopt your suggestion, as blowing a horn is supposed to be the monopoly of the Master and the Huntsman. However, I will do my best to put a stop to the annoyance, but may I suggest that the simplest plan would be to put bells in the rooms?"

I can see the dear old Censor now, standing up before his fire-place in his old-fashioned clothes and double white neckcloth. He looked at me, turned away and said in his solemn voice: "Well, Mr. Long, that would be a somewhat serious innovation, but the authorities will consider it." I thanked him and left. During my time, however, the consideration he promised never materialized, but I did succeed in stopping the horn blowing.

Those splendid old Christ Church days were full of enjoyment, full of interest, and full of good-fellowship. Next to Harrow, I owe most to "The House," and if the authorities of my day had been a little more strict in limiting the amusements of the "gentlemen of 'The House,'" I should have said that a more perfect introduction to life could not have been possible. As it was we were subject to no control. We were allowed by the authorities to keep several horses and to hunt a great

deal more than we should have done. It was altogether wrong, and I am glad to know that to-day it is impossible. If it were attempted it would be looked upon as a vulgar performance. It can certainly be said that there was then no idea of ostentation. We were, in the truest sense, madly keen about hunting and some of us had had little or no practical experience of it. We found ourselves for the first time in our lives within easy reach of meets with famous packs of hounds, and we hunted more than was consistent with our education or our University training, but we thoroughly enjoyed it all and learned many a lesson in connection with that great sport.

I am no authority on finance, but I feel entitled to claim that I did some good work for the Bullingdon Club. When I became President of the Club, my predecessor in office informed me that it was bankrupt. He handed over to me a very big deficit, telling me the only thing to be done was to wind up the Club. As it was an old Oxford institution, with many good traditions, I determined to re-establish it upon a sound foundation. I entirely reformed the financial methods, and eventually left it in a flourishing condition. I believe I am right in saying that from that day it has been beset by none of the difficulties which in my time threatened to destroy it. Rumour has it that the late Vice-Chancellor put an end to the Club. I hope this is not true and that, if it has been suspended, it will be revived and become once again the scene of much true sport and real good-fellowship.

I should like to record two invitations I received whilst an undergraduate, as I remember them now with particular satisfaction. It was in my blood, I suppose, to be a politician and a Conservative. When a by-election took place in the City of Oxford I took a somewhat active part. The Conservative candidate was returned, but he was unseated on petition, and I was

invited by the Conservative Association to become candidate in his place. I, of course, declined.

About the same time the Mastership of the Vale of White Horse was believed to be becoming vacant and I was invited to offer myself as a successor to the retiring Master. This invitation tempted me more than the other, but I refused.

Before I bid farewell to my Oxford life, I must make a brief reference to the lessons I learnt in sport of all kinds. Cricket, of course, was the chief occupation of the summer term. All who had come up with a sound reputation had abundant chances to prove whether they were qualified for a place in the University Eleven. As I have already said, serious illness deprived me of my first term and therefore I never played as a freshman. This was a great drawback to me. I had lost the disciplinary effects of school life and my love of riding resulted in my being greatly attracted by the game of polo, which supplanted cricket. I also took a strong dislike to the University ground, which was in those days in very indifferent condition and provided rough, unsatisfactory wickets, dreadfully bad for practice and not good even for matches.

The Captain of the Eleven, A. W. Ridley, was at Christ Church with me. He came to me one day and said: "If you want to get into the eleven you must practise regularly on the University ground." I must confess that this aroused my pugnacious qualities, and I decided to practise on the House ground, which was a very good one. However, I daresay it made no difference. Though as I had come up from Harrow with a reasonably good reputation, both as a bat and as a field, having been top of the batting averages in an eleven which included A. J. Webbe (the famous Oxford, Middlesex and England cricketer), I might have had some chance if I had adopted

the proper and sensible course and had attended regularly at the University ground, as did the others. I only mention this little incident because it may possibly be of use to other freshmen, who can learn from it that if they wish to succeed they must conform to well-known rules and regulations.

We had a very good eleven at "The House," of which I was privileged to be a member. I recollect one match in particular which we played against Trinity, who also had a very good side. They won the toss, scored some 550 runs, and the match was considered to be a certain victory for them. We, however, succeeded in scoring 570 for six wickets (nobody scoring a century), a rather remarkable feat!

Bullingdon Club matches were also of frequent occurrence, and many a good game was played there with visiting clubs. The Bullingdon Club dinners were the occasion of a great display of exuberant spirits, accompanied by a considerable consumption of the good things of life, which often made the drive back to Oxford an experience of exceptional nature. We used to return in four-horse coaches and brakes, provided by Higgs or Porter, both of them well-known livery-stable keepers, and as the team would be accurately described as "three blind 'uns and a bolter," the drive was usually not devoid of exciting incidents and was sometimes attended with no little peril. Happily, so far as my recollection goes, no accident of even a minor description ever occurred, which shows that Providence took care of us, for I am afraid we had neither the skill nor the knowledge necessary to enable us to take care of ourselves!

We used to hunt with the adjoining packs of fox-hounds—the Bicester, Heythrop, and the South Oxfordshire, and also with the Drag. The last met twice a week in the afternoon, and this enabled men to do their

work in the morning and still be sure of a gallop. It has always seemed to me to be an institution worthy of support, as it secured a healthy afternoon's exercise. In addition, as a man must ride the line or see nothing of the hunt, it very soon taught young fellows how to go to hounds.

A rather curious incident occurred whilst I was Master of the Drag. Some farmers came to see me in my rooms and they told me that the country they lived in was a piece of "no man's land" as none of the three adjacent packs ever visited it. They said that foxes were numerous and that they would be very grateful if I would bring my draghounds and hunt them. I took steps to ascertain whether there was any mistake, and I found that the country was not claimed by any pack. In due course we had our meet, found, and had a very good run. Unfortunately the fox took us out of "no man's land" into one of the South Oxfordshire coverts. We whipped off at once and made good our retreat. It happened that the South Oxfordshire were meeting there the next day. It became known that we had run through the covert the day before, and thereby had made it unlikely that they would find a fox. After a while we heard that the incident had given rise to bitter feeling among some of the South Oxfordshire followers and that I, as Master of the Drag, was being severely criticized. I determined to attend a meet and defend myself. I had, of course, already written to Lord Macclesfield, from whom I received a characteristically charming reply, carrying with it full forgiveness. When I arrived at the meet I found a small circle of sportsmen evidently hot in the discussion of some subject. As I rode up I heard one of them remark: "That young fellow Long wants a proper dressing-down, and he shall have it at the first opportunity." I presented myself, told them who I was and that I was quite prepared to explain what had happened. After I had told the

story one of them was, at first, inclined to be rather disagreeable, but the good feeling and sporting instincts of the hunting field prevailed, and I suppose they also realized that I was young and inexperienced. However, it all ended in expressions of good-will from everyone, including the member referred to, and a very generous invitation to come out with them as often as I liked, "provided I did not draw their coverts on other days ! ! "

The Masters of the other two packs I have mentioned were Lord Valentia and Mr. Brassey, both famous sportsmen, who always showed the greatest kindness and offered the warmest welcome to the undergraduates. I am afraid we were often a very great nuisance, as many of us were entirely ignorant of the rules which govern foxhunting. In our enthusiasm we must have frequently overridden hounds and in other ways interfered with the sport.

Lord Macclesfield was a wonderful man, already past middle-age, but possessing a very thorough knowledge of foxhunting and riding a country with inimitable courage and determination.

Mr. Brassey, of the Heythrop, was always very glad to see us. At that time Stephen Goodall was his huntsman, having followed the famous Jim Hill. He was a great master of the art, but I think he was too fond of what is known as the "silent system," too much given to approaching a covert very quietly. But he showed us splendid sport, and was always ready to give us youngsters the benefit of his ripe experience and remarkable knowledge. He used to tell us entrancing stories of his life and of the runs he had enjoyed. There was a particular custom of his in which we all delighted. In going to draw a covert he would often take the shortest way, going straight across country, much to our delight, as in this way we made sure of a ride if bad scent or short-running foxes prevented us enjoying legitimate opportunities.

Of the three Masters, the only surviving one is Lord Valentia, who was not only as kind and hospitable as the others, but welcomed at his kennels any of us who were keen about hunting. He would take immense trouble to inspire us with the love of the science of the sport, and to introduce us to the inner work of the kennels and the stables. Many were the valuable lessons we learnt there. Profound is our gratitude to him, one of our greatest sportsmen, one of the very best friends that ever lived, and I rejoice to think that he is still with us.

An amusing incident recalls itself to my mind in writing of the Bicester. A great friend of mine had not hunted before he came to Oxford. A born sportsman and good fellow, he determined to take to hunting. Wishing to purchase some horses, he asked one or two friends to accompany him to Charley Symonds' yard—a famous Oxford dealer—to make his purchases. After seeing a great many horses the choice lay between two or three. Some of us endeavoured to persuade him to purchase a grey mare which Charley assured us was an accomplished hunter and not likely to make any mistake. But he thought her too staid-looking and preferred a beautiful brown mare which was, however, only five years old and knew very little about the business. Notwithstanding our protests, in which we were heartily seconded by old Charley, he decided upon the brown. In due course, on a very early day in the season, we met the Bicester Hounds at Weston-on-the-Green. We found a fox in Weston Wood and went away at once, crossing a big field full of ant-hills and bordered by a very big fence and ditch. The mare, excited beyond measure, took complete control and bolted. She soon overtook Lord Valentia, who was approaching the fence, charged into him amidships and knocked him and his horse over into the ditch. His remarks to my unfortunate friend will not bear repeti-

tion! The collision had, of course, unseated the rider, but he managed to stick to his mare for some time. Proceeding at a break-neck pace over the bumpy field, she finally deposited him "on the floor," treading on him before leaving him. When we picked him up we found that he was rather seriously hurt. Happily his injuries were not of a permanent character, and in due course he was able to resume his hunting—on the grey mare and not on the beautiful brown!

Another great feature of our sporting life at Oxford were the "Grinds." They comprised two meetings—one held by the University and the other by "The House." They generally took place in some of the hunting country not very far from Oxford and offered splendid opportunities to undergraduates to compete in the various events.

The year before I left Oxford the authorities took it into their heads that some check must be imposed upon the sporting propensities of the undergraduates. One day we received a notice, to our great bewilderment, that we were not allowed to go to Derby. As nobody had the least intention or desire to go there (incidentally it was out of reach) we could not conceive why the order had been issued. The mystery was, however, explained when we discovered that Derby Races were to take place the following week. We came to the conclusion that the authorities had confused Derby Races with *the* Derby and desired to prevent us from going to Epsom!

This order was followed by a strict prohibition of the "Grinds," and a notice was promulgated to the effect that if any one of us attended this meeting he would be liable to be "sent down." We were determined not to be defeated. A meeting of the leading supporters was held in my rooms. It was decided that the meeting should be held, and that I was to make all arrangements secretly, to receive the entries, and to intimate to the

various Colleges, at such a time as I thought proper, the place that had been selected for the meeting. This was not an easy task, but thanks to the generous confidence and sporting instincts of all concerned I was able to make the necessary arrangements.

I went over to see that fine old sportsman, Mr. Fowler, of Aylesbury, who was the organizer of the Aylesbury Steeplechases. He at once fell in with my suggestion that he should help us to hold the meeting. The difficulty of advertising it under the rules was overcome by him, as he decided to call it "The Aylesbury Aristocratic Meeting"! I left everything to him, and the day before the meeting I sent written instructions to certain people who in their turn sent them to all the people interested, including the grooms. Whether the authorities heard anything of our intentions I never knew. But we had a most successful meeting, which was very largely attended. Ever since that day, I believe, no opposition has been offered to these perfectly harmless steeplechases.

We founded the Oxford Polo Club, which had a very small beginning. Ponies were hired or bought at very low prices, £25 or £30 securing a very good animal. Compared with the prices of to-day they seem almost incredible. It is true, of course, that the game was very different from what it is now. It was much slower, and consisted chiefly of dribbling the ball. There was none of the galloping and hard hitting which now go for efficiency and success.

I was always a keen devotee of the art of self-defence. Though I never attained any great degree of perfection, I certainly learned enough to enable me successfully to defend myself, and on more than one occasion I have found it extremely useful in a row. It has always been my practice in regard to my own boys, and others in whom I have been interested, to see that they received early

instruction in the principles of standing up to an opponent and "putting up your hands." I am sure that in boxing, as in many other things, the younger boys are when they learn these lessons, the more likely they are to attain efficiency when they grow up.

My boxing instructor at Oxford was Mike Moran, a retired prize-fighter, and an excellent instructor. He was a man of peculiar build; I don't think he stood more than 5 feet 4 inches, but he had immense shoulders and long arms which gave him great power and wonderful reach. He used often to lament to his pupils that he was now confined to the gloves, as he far preferred what he called the "raws." On one occasion when he was boxing with me in my rooms, which, when cleared of furniture, made a very useful "ring," he kept pushing his ugly, good-humoured face close up to mine and inviting me to hit him. "'It me, Mr. Long, 'it me." Whether he dwelt a second too long or whether I was quicker than usual I don't know, but at last I managed to land him a good one. I suppose I must have hurt him, for in a flash he let out. I remembered nothing more until I found myself on the floor with a cushion under my head, the "scout" dousing me with cold water and old Mike vigorously fanning me with a towel. The first words I heard on coming-to were from old Mike, who kept repeating: "For Gawd's sake, Mr. Long, don't tell me that I've killed yer!" His delight and relief when I was able to get up and sit on the sofa passed all bounds. Quite apart from a very actual fear of the consequences which would have overtaken him if he had knocked me out for all time, I really think he had a personal regard for me.

I can only say that if a knock-out blow means as much to the average prize-fighter as it meant to me, then he has my sincere sympathy, as it was some days before I could feel that I had really recovered from the effects of old

Mike's retaliation. Poor old fellow, he was very ashamed of himself, and was never tired of offering his excuses.

On one 5th of November, when the old "Town and Gown row" used to take place, I was coming up the High Street with some other University men when we suddenly found that we were about to be attacked by a crowd of townsmen. We at once got our backs to a shuttered shop-window and formed a line. By turning the two outside men a little to the flank we were able to make an effective defence, as the townsmen in question were not by any means proficient in the art of fighting. After some minutes numbers began to tell, and they pressed so close that we were unable to get in our blows with much effect. Suddenly I heard a voice at the back of the crowd, which by this time was a biggish one, shouting: "'Old on, Mr. Long, 'old on, we're coming." I saw a lane opening in the crowd, and Mike, with two or three of his friends, whom he had previously collected in anticipation of some incident of the kind, cutting his way through the mob and scattering the unfortunate townsmen in every direction. The sight filled us with joy, and proportionately depressed our antagonists, consequently we were able to give them some punishment. We were just beginning to enjoy ourselves when suddenly I felt a hand on my shoulder and a voice said: "Now, Mr. Long, you come along with us; if you come quietly there will be no trouble, but if you don't we shall have to take you." I glanced over my shoulder, and to my horror found a member of the very efficient Oxford police standing behind me. Apparently, in our excitement, we had moved a little forward and so had enabled the police to get in between us and the shutters. It was, of course, clear that nothing was to be done but to give in and to retire as quietly and gracefully as possible in charge of the police!

It was an ignominious ending to what we had just

begun to regard as a glorious episode. We were spared the humiliating jeers of the crowd, because Mike and his friends continued to keep them engaged until we were well out of the way. They then made themselves scarce, as, Mike told me afterwards, they were afraid the police would next give attention to them. I am not sure, but I think this was the last occasion upon which there was a real "Town and Gown row" in Oxford.

I often saw Mike in the old days, and frequently went with him to a fight. He used to appear mysteriously in all sorts of places—St. James's Street, Pall Mall and so on. He would come up to me quietly and whisper in my ear: "There's a splendid fight on to-morrow, well worth seeing; I 'ope you'll come."

Peace be to his ashes. He was a brave and skilful fighter and a loyal and kindly fellow!

CHAPTER V

AN INTERVAL—BETWEEN OXFORD AND WESTMINSTER

I WENT down in 1877, and as hunting from home was almost impossible, I established myself at Bicester, where some friends and I took rooms at the "King's Arms," which was kept by a Mr. and Mrs. Austin. They were a very remarkable couple. Report said he had been a prize-fighter in his younger days. However that might be, he looked the part and was at any moment ready to resent anything he regarded as a slight upon his guests. On one occasion when I had had a dispute with a London tradesman, the latter sought to serve a writ on me, but he calculated without his "Host." When he arrived Austin put two or three questions to him and assumed such an attitude of defiance as so alarmed the unfortunate man that he returned to London, and I heard no more of the proposed writ! They made one extremely comfortable in a quiet, old-fashioned way. Mrs. Austin had a wonderful receipt for a mixture which she called "Sherry and Jelly." She used to administer this to any foxhunter who was returning home by the "King's Arms." She was a clever, kindly woman and between them they provided us with ideal hunting quarters. We had an extraordinary good time with Lord Valentia as Master. Claxton, who was Huntsman, had a bad fall and was rendered *hors de combat*, and Lord Valentia carried the horn. After that he continued to hunt the hounds himself. He had a very fine lot of horses and I do not think I have ever seen

things better done than they were during the years I had the good fortune to hunt with him.

I am afraid that during the next two years I devoted my time mainly to foxhunting and coaching. In those happy days there was no super-tax, income-tax was less than a shilling in the pound, and as one could pick up both hunters and coach-horses at a very moderate price, it was possible to have a great deal of enjoyment for an outlay which would be ridiculously inadequate to-day.

A number of coaches still ran from London to different parts of the country. Several of them started from Hatchett's Hotel in Piccadilly, amongst others the Guildford coach, in which the 8th Duke of Beaufort and Captain Cooper both had an active interest.

I remember well, while I was still at Oxford, I determined to go for a drive on this famous coach. I secured the box-seat well in advance and arrived at Hatchett's in good time, to be met by one of the officials connected with the coach who told me that the Duke of Beaufort was going to drive, and that his daughter, Lady Blanche Somerset was coming and, as she would naturally like the box-seat, would I surrender it. It is unnecessary for me to say that I at once consented. Unfortunately the other seats were booked with the exception of one at the back, so I was compelled to forfeit the privilege of watching the Duke driving and of seeing the horses doing their work. It was typical of the Duke that shortly afterwards he should have written me a charming letter, saying that he had just heard I had surrendered the box-seat to his daughter, and that he regretted I had not spoken to him before we started. I had not done so, partly from natural shyness, but mainly because I did not want to bring to his notice the fact that I was making way for Lady Blanche. But he made it quite clear in his letter that he greatly regretted not having had the opportunity of thanking me

on the spot. Notwithstanding the innumerable calls on his time he never failed to do these kindly acts, which were the origin of the profound respect and affection in which he was held by people, young and old, high and low, who were privileged to know him.

In those days the "Four-in-hand" and "Coaching" Clubs were very thriving institutions. I was elected to the latter at once, and two years later to the older club. Many a pleasant meet we had at the Magazine and a drive afterwards to some place for lunch. Alas! to-day these clubs are so depleted in numbers that they meet but rarely, and even when they do, a very small muster of coaches is the result. There were many owners who turned out the most beautiful teams, horses which cost a great deal of money and which were the admiration of all horse lovers. Great crowds used to assemble at the Magazine and all the way down the Park to witness the parade. It was not possible for me to compete with these turn-outs. But anyone who had a knowledge of horse-flesh, and could devote a little time to buying the animals he wanted, could put together a good workmanlike team which did not cost for all four horses as much as was given for one in the more expensive teams.

The roads were very different then. There was no motor traffic; coachmen, 'bus-drivers, cabmen and carters were all very civil to coaches, making way for them, giving them the "pass" across streets or roads, and in many cases never failing to salute in the old-fashioned way as they passed. It was a most delightful form of amusement, driving ten or twelve miles out of London, perhaps dining somewhere in the country and coming back at night, when the horses always seemed to work better and give less trouble and really to enjoy themselves.

I was very fond of driving four horses, and being physically fairly strong, I could tackle pullers and other sinners

without much difficulty. I had had the advantage of a series of lessons at the commencement from the two Wards, who were very fine coachmen, and also from one or two professionals.

A great friend of mine was Walter Powell, who was also very fond of coaching. Unfortunately, he had a great fancy for ballooning, and I think he was far ahead of the times in this respect. He made an ascent in a balloon which he had built himself at very considerable expense. There was an accident at the start, one or two of his companions fell out and were more or less injured, and the balloon finally disappeared with him and was never heard of again. A very tragic end to his career!

He kept his coach going, both in London and in the country, and he was good enough to place it unreservedly at my disposal and allowed me to drive it whenever I liked. His coachman was a man called Waller, who, I believe, had been a professional. But there was some mystery about his past. In some quarters it was stated that he had driven a stage coach. In others it was said he had been a gentleman of means and had kept his own coach. Anyway, he was a very fine whip. He gave me some very valuable lessons and told me many delightful stories about the earlier coaching days. Subsequently, he drove a coach which worked between Devizes and Bath, and I often went with him. He had a habit of starting his horses before he was in his seat. He would take the reins, put his foot on the roller bolt, and have the horses' heads freed before he hoisted himself, and they were actually going before he was on the box. It always seemed to me to be a dangerous practice and many professionals regarded it as quite incorrect. He was a good mentor and a very interesting old fellow.

I continued coaching as long as I could manage to put a team together. It is pathetic to realize to-day that

one could get four very useful, good-looking horses for less than a couple of hundred pounds, and derive an immense amount of pleasure from the expeditions it was possible to make. Two of us would unite our teams and share the journey and so cover twenty or thirty miles out and back. This, of course, sounds a very small matter to-day when in a motor-car a hundred or even two hundred miles out and back in a day is of frequent occurrence. But we were content with the more modest, though, I think, more enjoyable expeditions.

It is, in my judgment, profoundly to be regretted that coaching is rapidly passing away as a form of sport. There were a great many professionals who drove coaches, such as the one to which I have referred, and it was a great sight to see them leaving London for their various destinations. Beautiful horses, well put together, well turned out coaches and harness, and on the box great masters of the art, whether amateur or professional. They generally made it a rule to do ten miles an hour, including changes, and although I never knew what are called the old coaching days, I believe that the road coaches of my day were very good examples of their predecessors.

I married, happily for myself, in 1878. My wife was as fond of coaching as I was, and we continued as long as we could to share this particular form of amusement.

I think, taking everything into account, that the late Duke of Beaufort, the fourteenth Duke of Somerset and Captain Cooper were three of the best amateur coachmen I ever saw. They were as near perfection as could be, and it was an unceasing delight to watch them on the box-seat. It was customary in those days to drive coaches to all the principal race-meetings round London, to cricket matches at Lord's, where there were enclosures for the "Four-in-hand" and "Coaching" Clubs. Scores of coaches were to be seen with cheery loads of passengers, luncheon on board, attend-

The Viscountess Long of Wraxall.

[*To face p.* 58.

ing these and any similar gatherings which were within reach. Many of us who could not afford large studs drove hunters, and I have always believed that a good coach horse is as likely as not to be a good hunter, and that he suffers no harm, provided the pace is not too hot or the load too heavy. My hunters were, indeed, all the better for spending the summer in front of the " bars " instead of in a box or out at grass.

There were many other amateurs besides those I have named, and during the first twenty years of my manhood, coaching was one of the most popular forms of amusement in the country, not only amongst those who drove or travelled on them, but among people generally. They used to assemble along the roads in the country, just as much as in town, if they knew a coach was coming, and they would watch it pass with evident interest and delight. I have no desire to be a mere *laudator temporis acti* and to bemoan the past as though there was nothing good in the present, but I do honestly regret the passing of the coaching era, not only because I think coaching was a pleasant and useful occupation, but because it provided a very large amount of employment in many different forms. It will be said that while people are no longer employed in building and fitting out coaches, harness and so on, they find equally profitable occupation in building motor-cars ; but it is no exaggeration to say that *one* of the bigger cars to-day takes the place of not less than four to six horses. They had to be bred, trained and made ready for sale, which meant employment for stablemen ; and when they had passed into the possession of their new owners, they had to be fed, groomed and stabled, which meant more employment of a most lucrative character, all of which is, to-day, at an end. The loss of it must in no small degree contribute to our sum total of unemployment.

Coaching was mainly a summer amusement, though

a few great lovers of the art, among them the Duke of Beaufort, drove their teams through the winter, occasionally to meets of hounds. As a rule these vehicles were laid up for the winter and the horses were used for ordinary road purposes.

Another great lover of the art was the late General Sir Thomas Peyton, who lived in the Bicester country. With his famous yellow coach and grey horses he was a fairly regular attendant at meets within reasonable distance of Swift's House, where he lived. He used not only to come to the meets, but he very frequently followed hounds for an appreciable time. With roads constructed as they are now, more like skating rinks than highways, this would be, to say the least of it, a somewhat perilous enterprise.

My wife's father and mother, Lord and Lady Cork, were two very remarkable people, and in a record of my life I cannot possibly omit a reference to them. Lord Cork was a man of the old school, a Tory if ever there was one in many of his ideas and practices. In politics he was an old-fashioned Liberal who firmly believed in Party Government and gave unswerving support to Mr. Gladstone, who was Leader of the Party during the greater part of his active political life.

The borough of Frome, which is close to what used to be the family place at Marston, and also within easy reach of Longleat, the home of the Marquess of Bath, was always looked upon as the political battle-ground for these two great families. Many a strenuous election was contested in which the influence of the two families was exercised on the Tory or Liberal side, with some ludicrous consequences.

Lord Henry Thynne, brother of the late Lord Bath, who for many years was one of the Whips of the Conservative Party, lived in those days at Maiden Bradley, which belonged to his brother-in-law, the Duke of Somerset.

He was a very active politician, and the fight in Frome generally ended in a struggle between him, as representing the Thynne interests, and Lord Cork as champion of the opposite Party, although the latter, being a Peer, was unable to take as active a part as Lord Harry.

On one occasion the Liberal Party decided to have a procession through the town of Frome with bands and banners. A free fight ensued, with the result that the Tories captured the Liberal instruments and banners. Lord Harry used to boast that they had been brought to Maiden Bradley and hung as " trophies of war " in the hall of his house !

Lord Cork was a great sportsman, an excellent judge of a horse and a fine horseman. He was very partial to grey horses, but hated a chestnut—indeed, he would not have one in his stable. He was a very good man to hounds, but rode in a fashion of his own. He liked his horses to go behind their bridles and very slowly at their fences. He had two mares called " Crinoline " and " Columbine," quite remarkable hunters, and it was a wonderful thing to see them negotiating a stile. However big it was, the procedure was precisely the same ; his Lordship would ride at the stile at a very slow trot and the mares, both having exactly the same manner, would proceed to clamber over it. How they managed to avoid falling when there was a ditch and a footboard, I could never make out.

He was on three occasions Master of the Royal Buckhounds, was very popular with the followers of the Hunt, and although he was a real lover of true foxhunting, and for a short time acted as Master of the Blackmore Vale, he was very fond of stag-hunting.

Notwithstanding the fact that he was a staunch supporter of the Liberal Party, he showed me the greatest possible kindness and gave me invaluable help in my early

days as a political candidate. His knowledge of politics, his shrewd judgment and his sagacity made him a wise adviser. There existed between us, to the end of his life, a firm, unbroken friendship, and I remember with gratitude and deep affection the kindly part he always played towards me, which was the more appreciated because I had no male relations who were able to be to me guide and mentor.

Lady Cork was a brilliant woman, one of the old school. A daughter of Lord Clanricarde, she had been early trained in politics and was a convinced Liberal like her husband. She was an inimitable conversationalist, with a great circle of friends and acquaintances, and she enjoyed the most intimate friendship with both Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone. She knew all the leading statesmen and diplomatists, and it was a great delight in later years (when she was confined for most of the time to a sofa) to sit and listen to her accounts of old political contests. She had been brought up in a school which cultivated conversation as a fine art, and she revelled in crossing swords with those whom she regarded as foemen worthy of her steel. No doubt she occasionally made enemies, as her powers of repartee and criticism were somewhat severe, but to me she was, like my father-in-law, always the kindest, most generous and most helpful of friends. I count myself fortunate indeed to have had the advantage, not only of their intimate acquaintance, but of their relationship, which gave me the opportunity of a familiar knowledge of two people who, in their respective ways, played a prominent part in their day.

As I married in 1878 and was selected as Conservative candidate in 1879, the occasion very soon arose when I needed help and advice, and I never turned to Lord and Lady Cork in vain. In helping and advising me they brought into play all their great gifts and unrivalled

experience, and they never allowed the difference in our political views to prevent them giving me the best and most loyal assistance.

The changes which have taken place in our manners and customs in the years that have passed may well be illustrated by two or three little anecdotes in connection with smoking. Soon after I was engaged, I was leaving the family house in Grafton Street and paused in the hall to light a cigarette. The hall-porter said: "I beg, sir, that you won't do that; it is as much as my place is worth to allow anybody to light up in the hall!"

On another occasion when I was driving my future wife in a T-cart in the Park on a very hot day, we pulled up in the shade under the trees at the end of the Ladies' Mile, and while sitting there I lighted a cigarette. Lord Clanricarde, my wife's uncle, saw us, and went that evening to Lady Cork and told her he was very sorry to have to be obliged to inform her that he had seen her future son-in-law sitting beside her daughter, smoking. He regarded this as a very deplorable incident and one that proved that the marriage would not be desirable!

The following is to my mind the most remarkable incident, as showing the change which has come over our customs. Lord Cork gave a dinner party which was honoured by the presence of the late King Edward VII., then Prince of Wales. Lord Cork hated smoking and could not bear the smell of tobacco. As my brother-in-law was under age, Lord Cork told me that when dinner was over, I was to take H.R.H. and anybody else who wished to smoke into an adjoining room which had been prepared for the purpose, and that he himself would ask H.R.H. to excuse him as he could not bear tobacco! Smoking in those days was only indulged in to a very limited extent. There were plenty of big houses like Longleat, Marston and others in which the only smoking-room was quite a small

room a long way from all the other reception rooms. In some houses which I have visited, there was no smoking-room at all, the practice not being recognized by the host and hostess. Sometimes we bachelors used to meet in our bedrooms and smoke surreptitiously, keeping the window open in the hope that the smoke would escape and the smell would not penetrate to the rest of the house. In more than one case, the only way to obtain a smoke after dinner was to repair to the butler's pantry, where the chairs were none too comfortable, and if, in addition, we wanted a drink we had to purchase it from the butler!

In these days when smoking begins immediately after dinner and is indulged in by both sexes, it is difficult to realize that such rigid rules existed within, comparatively speaking, so short a time ago.

I remember my mother returning from a drive and telling me, with unconcealed disgust, she had met Mr. Blank, who had come to talk to her in her carriage, and he had continued to smoke a cigar during the conversation. She described this as an outrage of which no gentleman ought to be guilty!

Those were very cheery days. There was no threatening of wars and horrors of that kind, taxation was light and everybody believed they could enjoy life without any anxiety as to the future. Some, happily, have come through well, owing to their own prudence or to some special good fortune which has attended them. But all who took part in the life of that day will, I think, agree that they saw the best there has been in our land. Though, perhaps, some may have cause to regret that they indulged their love of sport and amusement to a greater extent than was justifiable, they had a good time and would probably do exactly the same over again were the opportunity to arise.

London was a very different place from what it is

now, not only in the character of its parks and streets, but also in the numbers of hotels and restaurants. Places like the "Ritz," "Carlton," "Claridges" did not exist. As for restaurants, there was not one to be found, and entertaining was on a totally different scale. Clubs, too, were very different. Rules were much more rigid. Membership of some was regarded as a very great honour, not easily to be attained, and when elected, a member was supposed to bear in mind its unwritten laws and to remember that he was new to the institution. White's was one of the most famous and select clubs in London. In the bow-windows facing St. James's there were certain chairs which were reserved for the older members, and it was as much as a young member's life was worth to take possession of one of them.

I suppose nothing has changed more than travel by rail. From my home in Wiltshire there was only one line to London, and it took four or five hours to reach the Metropolis. To-day there are two lines, and London can easily be reached in two and a half hours, while the luncheon and dining cars have made the journey, not only comfortable, but luxurious. I fancy there are not many people who remember that *all* trains on the Great Western had to stop at Swindon for ten minutes for refreshments. The history of this rule, I believe, was that, in the early days the Company were not prepared to run the refreshment department themselves, and they left it to private enterprise. The first caterers who undertook to establish a refreshment room at Swindon secured a statutory arrangement with the G.W.R. Company, which compelled trains to stop for a certain time. It was commonly reported that no less than three different people made considerable fortunes out of the contract, and it was during the time I was a Director of the Railway that we bought out the contractor, paying him, if I remember rightly, something

over £100,000, the entire amount being recovered in a very short time owing to the immense saving resulting upon the consequent power of the Company to run through trains without stopping at Swindon.

The Great Western had the old broad gauge. It is extraordinary how seldom I meet anyone who remembers what it was, the great comfort of the old, big carriages, or the circumstances in which the change was made. It was found that great inconvenience and actual loss resulted from the existence of different gauges. So it was decided that the broad gauge must be abandoned and the universal narrow gauge adopted. The actual change was completed in one night, and it was said that some of the older officials who had assembled at Paddington to witness the departure of the last broad gauge train broke down as it left the station, so attached were they to the old gauge, which they believed was the cause of the wonderful success which had attended the G. W. R. system. Whether they really feared that the alteration would mean a loss to the Company's prestige and the departure of its glory I know not, but if they did entertain this idea it has been entirely falsified. I believe that to-day there is not a better managed railway or one which affords greater comfort to its passengers. As one of its firmest admirers I rejoice to know that in the recent amalgamation and formation of railway groups, the G. W. R. has been able to retain its old name, and that of its officials the majority are in power as they were before Sir Eric Geddes's great reform.

With my advent into politics as a candidate for Parliament there came a complete change in my life. From that time to this, politics and my Parliamentary duties have dominated me, and to these services, whether for good or ill, I have given all my time and the best of my health, strength and energy.

PART II

PARLIAMENTARY AND MINISTERIAL LIFE

CHAPTER VI

ENTRY INTO PARLIAMENT

I WAS asked to stand for Marlborough in 1878. Under the old system, this was a close borough for the great House of Bruce at Savernake, who were staunch supporters of the Liberal Party. The Conservatives had maintained their organization and had insisted upon fighting the seat. They felt that they had been overlaid by the great influence of the Bruce family and were anxious for a representative of another old Wilts family to champion their cause. I was not very willing to accede to their request, as I had no great desire to enter into conflict with the local magnate at Savernake, who possessed the strong regard of everybody in the county. But I appreciated the fact that the Conservatives of the borough had kept the "flag flying" under very depressing circumstances and I was persuaded to accept the invitation.

Before giving my final decision, I consulted one or two of our political leaders in the Northern Division of the County and asked their advice. The view they expressed offers an interesting commentary upon the political conditions which existed in those days. They told me that they thought the experience would be useful, but they added: "We are doubtful whether Sir George Jenkinson" (a Gloucestershire squire and one of the Members for N.

Wilts) "will stand again ; if he resigns we propose to bring you forward."

There was no suggestion that they should first consult the electors of their way of thinking by bringing my name before a representative committee, as would be the case to-day. They said quite definitely that they intended to run me as their candidate ! Consequently I informed the Marlborough Association I would stand provided that there was no vacancy for the county. If this did occur, I said, they must hold me free from my obligation to them. Looking back after all the years which have intervened, with the experience gained in subsequent elections, I marvel at the quiet certainty of the local leaders, and my own audacity in assuming that I should be adopted as candidate.

However, my statement was enough for the good people of Marlborough, and I became candidate. It certainly proved to be a very valuable lesson in electioneering. I appointed as my agent a solicitor, by name Drummond Dowding, a personal friend, and we started upon our campaign. The President of the Association, a most delightful fellow, whose family lived in the neighbourhood, entered into the fight with the utmost zest, and was quite confident I should succeed in defeating the representative of the House of Ailesbury.

The borough was a small one, comprising the town and College and a few adjoining parishes. At that time the Marlborough College masters were almost entirely Radical in their views. They were strongly opposed to my nomination, as they considered Marlborough to be a Liberal stronghold which ought not to be invaded by a Conservative. Consequently they organized a very determined opposition. The first meeting we held was in the Town Hall, at which I was to be introduced to the electors. I have, in one of my scrap-books, a newspaper cutting of

my speech. When I looked at it not long ago, I opened the book with fear and trembling, but I was gratified to find it was not so bad an effort, notwithstanding my inexperience.

The meeting was quite exciting. My agent, who was a very astute man, told me beforehand that the masters had arranged to have scouts in different parts of the hall, so that when the resolution of confidence in me was proposed, and they had moved their amendment, they would force a division if the scouts indicated that they had a majority. Dear old Drummond Dowding decided to defeat them at their own game. Accordingly he placed his own scouts, and instructed them to signal him on the platform if they thought we had sufficient support in the hall to make the passage of the resolution certain. When the resolution was put there was no doubt whatever that we had carried it by a very large majority. Indeed it was so evident that the masters did not call for a count. The enthusiasm caused by this result was tremendous, and it gave me a splendid start.

In those days committee rooms were held in public-houses, and practices were indulged in which happily are to-day illegal. However, I had my own views even then. I considered anything in the nature of bribery and corruption wrong. Besides, I had not the means to indulge in it, even if it had appealed to me. I was, therefore, determined to fight the election without recourse to such methods.

I lived twenty-five miles from the borough. There were no motor-cars, and communication by train was very bad. Consequently I had to stay in the town whenever there was a meeting or any work to be done. If I went alone I stayed with Henry Dixon, my President. If my wife came, we stayed at an hotel. My activities consisted mainly in canvassing, as it was not necessary to hold more than one or two meetings in the year.

There was a large farmer in the neighbourhood, of the

old-fashioned kind, who was an enthusiastic supporter of the Conservative cause. He invited me to see him, and he promised to take me round his labourers and to introduce me. I had quite uneventful conversations with the majority of them, but presently my friend informed me that he was doubtful about our reception at the next cottage. The man, he said, "is a good workman, and a good fellow, but I do not trust his politics." When we arrived we found a good-looking young woman engaged in preparing her husband's meal. A saucepan was on the fire, and in her hand she held a large ladle. My host proceeded to address her somewhat as follows: "We have come to see you, as there is an election coming on in Marlborough before very long. There are two candidates, Lord Bruce and Mr. Walter Long. Now I don't want, of course, to influence your husband in his vote; I ain't got any right to, but I have brought Mr. Long to see you. I am going to vote for him"—and with great emphasis he added—"*I hope your husband will do so too!*" The good wife never looked round. She said nothing for a minute or two—and then replied: "My husband ain't here, and all I can say to you is that if Mr. Long was here I'd be very glad to bash his head in with this ladle," giving at the same time that formidable-looking weapon an unpleasant flourish in our direction. Although I tried in vain to convince her I was not so bad as she thought, we retired utterly routed! I saw her husband afterwards. He was not more communicative than she had been, and contented himself with saying: "Nothing would induce him to vote for a Conservative."

There was a steadfast objection—not by any means confined to the working men who in a borough had been enfranchised by Mr. Disraeli's Act of 1867—to the very idea of a Conservative. Any attempt to oust the Liberal Member—and above all a Bruce—was thoroughly distaste-

ful to them. I remember on one occasion Dowding came to me looking very white and shaken. He told me that he had had the most awful experience. He was canvassing and came to the house of a man of whom he knew nothing. He was received with no cordiality, but without any marked hostility. He felt that it would be wise to approach the object of his visit with some caution. When he mentioned that he had come on my behalf the voter became frightfully excited, stormed and raved at him, and before he could realize what had happened the poor man fell into a fit, and in spite of the doctor's attentions, died. The incident shows, I think, with what resentment the electors viewed an attempt to unseat the sitting Member.

Among other supporters we had a splendid fellow called Crowe, who had a tannery in the town. He used to say that when he first came to Marlborough, although he had not two sixpences to rub together, he had boasted that his name would stand higher than anyone's in the place. He claimed that he had achieved his object. He built a tannery, with a chimney which was higher than anything else in the town. At the top, in dark bricks, was his name! He was very proud of the achievement.

I was not destined after all to take part in an election at Marlborough. Sir George Jenkinson retired from North Wilts, and I was called upon to stand for that division. The procedure was quite simple. One of the leaders wrote that in consequence of Sir George's retirement, due to ill-health, a meeting would be held at Chippenham, the chief town in the division. He would be glad if I would attend as it was their intention to select me as the candidate. I went in due course and was told to wait in an adjoining room. About half a dozen county gentlemen were present. I was not kept waiting more than a quarter of an hour, when they asked me to join them. I was informed that I had been selected as the Conservative candidate. I had

no one to advise me, but as we had been for many generations associated with the county I accepted the invitation. I hope it was with becoming modesty, though I do not think that it was with any misgivings as to the result.

In those days there were two Members for each of the two divisions into which the county was divided. Mr. Sotheron Estcourt, who came from the other end of the division—in fact he actually lived in Gloucestershire, though he owned considerable property in North Wilts—had been the other sitting Member. He decided to offer himself for re-election, so we became joint candidates. From that moment commenced a friendship which grew in strength as years went on and only terminated at his death in 1916. He was the kindest, most generous and wisest of colleagues and a most loyal friend. His uncle, to whom he succeeded in possession of the estates in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Yorkshire, had held high office in previous Conservative Administrations, had been for many years Member for N. Wilts, and the name was honoured and respected wherever it was known, consequently he was an ideal colleague. We were very close and intimate friends through all the succeeding years, and when Mr. Balfour was good enough to ask me if I could recommend a really typical country gentleman whose name he could submit to His Majesty for the dignity of a Peerage, I had no hesitation and very real pleasure in naming Mr. Estcourt, as I was certain that no better man could be honoured by any Sovereign. He was a model country gentleman, a great sportsman, a leading member of the Beaufort Hunt, and prominent in all county work. Although he hated making speeches, he was a most useful and reliable Member of Parliament.

During the contest, an enthusiastic local poet wrote some lines about the election. There were three candidates, Mr. Sotheron Estcourt, Mr. George Fuller, of Neston, and myself, and there were only two seats. The local

poet concluded by a prophecy. He foretold that of the three only two could win, and they would be, to use his own words: "*L'un est long, et l'autre est court!*" good prophecy and not a bad attempt at a pun.

At this time the franchise was very limited. Labourers and artisans outside the boroughs had no vote. For this reason meetings were few and were held in the day-time. The audiences were composed almost entirely of squires, parsons, farmers and tradesmen. We went about in considerable state, generally meeting at the house of some squire, who drove us in his carriage, coach or brake with four horses, all decked out in the party colours. In this way we made impressive entrances into the towns or villages in which the meetings were to be held.

Everything was done in an easy, leisurely fashion. The meetings were not often attended by the interruptions and heckling which is so familiar to-day. At the same time, incidents occasionally occurred which impressed themselves on one's mind. For instance, at one, a fine-looking working man in the audience asked leave to put a question. He advanced up the room from the far end and planted himself in front of the platform. I do not suppose he had a vote, but it was evident that he had come to the meeting with a very definite duty to discharge. He spoke in quiet but resolute tones: "I want to ask the two gentlemen standing for Parliament a question. It is this. A hard-working man is turned out of his house and has nowhere to go. He appeals for mercy. Indeed, gentlemen, he only asks for justice, but he is told that he has got to go. Do you think this is fair?" Needless to say, both Mr. Estcourt and I stated emphatically that the case, as presented by him, seemed a very hard one. Whereupon he said in a most dramatic manner: "*I* am the man who was turned out. *There is the man who did the deed*," pointing to a well-known member of the Party

who was on the platform. He continued: "I pray Almighty God that his face may soon be as white as his hair." The man thus singled out was a big land agent in the neighbourhood, who had a high complexion and beautiful white hair. The venom of the language and tone made us all shiver, and his dramatic description of what had occurred brought Mr. Estcourt and myself face to face for the first time with the embarrassment which may arise from the discharge of duty by those who are responsible for the disposal of housing accommodation.

It must not be thought that the agent had not a case for his action. The house in question was badly needed for the purposes of the estate, and the man worked for an employer with whom the owner of the house in question had no connection. It was not then, nor is it now, unreasonable for a landowner to claim that, while his duty is to provide houses for those who work upon his estate, he ought not to be called upon to provide accommodation at uneconomic rents for those who have no connection with the property and who work for others. The agent in question was a most kindly man and, I am sure, would not have been guilty of an act of injustice, much less of cruelty.

The provision of houses for the working classes, whether in town or country, has been and is a most difficult question. I am, however, only dealing with the case as it presents itself in rural districts. There it is the custom for landowners to provide cottages for workpeople on their estates at rents which are altogether unremunerative. Indeed, if cottage property is regarded solely for its return in rents, it means a very heavy loss. Until Parliament saw fit to give Local Authorities power to provide cottages, landowners were expected to provide them, not only for their own estate, but also for general occupation. Of course, the provision of cottages had to be regarded from two totally different points of view. First, the economic one to which

I have already referred ; secondly, the obligation to provide accommodation for those who could not afford to build for themselves. The landowner accepts liability to provide cottages as a part of the equipment of his estate. He does not look on this branch of expenditure purely from the economic view ; but the same conditions do not apply to cottages built for others, and though Parliament has intervened, this difficult problem is by no means solved.

The Election of 1880 followed upon Mr. Disraeli's adoption of what was known as his Imperial Policy. From it wonderful results have been achieved, and in my opinion, it laid the foundation of the movement for Imperial Federation, which I hope is approaching consummation to-day. It is, however, interesting to reflect upon the views taken in those days by men of the most progressive and broad-minded opinions. On one occasion I met a neighbour, the head of a cloth factory, a man who had created a most prosperous business and had made a large fortune for himself. He was a Yorkshireman who had come to our part of the world and had been taken into partnership by a manufacturer who was not making a good thing of his business.

I knew the Yorkshireman well and had a great regard for him. He stopped me and remarked that he was sorry he could not vote for me. He had the greatest respect for my father and myself, but he could not vote for a supporter of Mr. Disraeli. "His policy," he said, "is to extend the Empire, to increase the Dominion of India, whereas I think Mr. Gladstone's domestic 'bread and butter' policy is the right one. So I shall vote for Mr. Fuller, who supports Mr. Gladstone." If he could come back from the grave now, I am sure he would not hold those views, and he would realize that Mr. Disraeli's policy had been more permanent in its effects and more enduring in its benefits than the one which he supported at the time.

For some days after Mr. Estcourt and I had been adopted it seemed that we were to be unopposed. Indeed, some of the Liberal leaders had said that as we were both members of families which had been connected with the representation of the county for some considerable time, and as we held what they described as moderate views, it was not their intention to contest the seat.

As I have said, I had accepted nomination without considering what the election might entail upon the candidate, and I remember very well the shock we received when we were informed that a strong Liberal candidate was to be brought out. I had heard on the preceding Saturday (this was Monday) that some of the Liberal leaders had been seen on their way to Bowood, the seat of the Marquess of Lansdowne, the leading Liberal in the county. Though I had been warned that this did not presage any good for us, with the confidence of youth I had paid no attention to this information. Sotheron Estcourt and I were visiting Cricklade, and had accepted the invitation of a well-known resident, a stout Conservative, to partake of his hospitality before we returned home. He had produced a bottle of '51 port, and had just proposed the health of "the two future Members for the Division," when his servant came in with a telegram addressed to me! I opened it and read the announcement that Mr. Fuller, of Neston, was to be our Liberal opponent. I shall never forget the fury with which our supporters regarded what they considered to be an outrageous attempt to deprive us of our legitimate rights! Yet it was a perfectly proper action by the Liberals. Our party majority in the county had never been big, and why it should have been assumed that there ought to be no opposition to our section I cannot understand. Be that as it may, from that time on our position was completely altered, and we had to face what turned out to be a very severe and bitterly fought contest. The

division was a big one, communication was difficult and slow. The only advantage we enjoyed, compared with to-day, was, as I have mentioned, that the meetings were not very numerous and almost invariably took place in the day-time. It was very soon evident that if we were to win we had to leave no stone unturned.

Hard though the fight was it could not be compared with any ordinary election of to-day. It was the last one in our county on the old franchise and electoral system. As soon as it was known that we were to have a contest our agents set to work to retain every public-house they could get for our committee rooms, and to order post-horses and carriages from all the inn-keepers, some of whom had not a horse or a conveyance to their name. This was the recognized method of the day, and was dictated by two considerations. First, engaging the inns made it impossible for the other side to do so, and therefore agents did all in their power to be first in the field. Secondly, for every horse or conveyance ordered, the inn-keepers were allowed to charge for an equivalent number of rosettes and streamers of the party colours. So the privilege was a real one, eagerly sought after, and it was astonishing to find the high prices which were charged for those particular articles. I remember the case of a man who kept a small inn in one of the neighbouring towns. He did not own even a donkey-cart, but he charged and was paid for seventy-two pairs of rosettes at a most extortionate figure!

After all, these things are comparative, and if the difference between to-day and 1880 is remarkable, it is only fair at the same time to remember that there was an equal or even greater difference between 1831 and 1880. I have an account for a former election among my papers. The county was undivided and returned three members. My grandfather was a candidate, and the bill records that some electors were brought from a borough, where they

enjoyed one of the old franchises, to vote for the Conservative candidate. In those days the poll was held at one place. Tents or "booths" were erected and voting was, of course, open. The account is for providing accommodation for eighteen electors for three weeks at £1 per head per day, and there is a note in red ink at the bottom of the bill, signed by my grandfather's private agent, which states that the provision for these "free and independent citizens" consisted of one room, and that when they were brought to the poll they were too drunk to record their votes!

It was the practice in those days for the agent to keep back voters till the last minute. The results of the poll were declared daily, and in a close election the cleverest agent was supposed to be the man who could secrete the biggest number of electors and produce them at the last moment! If the note is true, that these particular gentlemen were unable to record their votes, the result was not affected, as my grandfather was successful and remained Member for the county till 1865, when he was succeeded by my father.

I may mention here an experience I myself had in 1886. I was visiting the polling places on election day and I got to one village at 7 p.m. There I found an out-voter who had come a very long distance to support me. It was the practice to put the out-voters to vote in the big towns because of the railway communication. My supporter had to vote at Devizes, twelve miles away, and not at the village where we were. I did not meet him until 7 o'clock, but I told him I was going straight to Devizes and that I would get him there in time if he would come with me. I was driving a pair of horses and we had, of course, to travel pretty fast. The air was keen, but he talked all the way intelligently and sensibly. I pulled up at the polling place at five minutes to eight—a very

good performance—and I told him to get out and record his vote. He, however, did not move, and had to be assisted out of his seat. I asked the policeman at the door whether the elector had got in all right, but was told that as soon as he was inside the polling-booth he had become absolutely incapable, and had to be helped away and put to bed. I was told after by the doctor that it was evident he had been trying to pass the time by imbibing freely, and that the drive through the air had kept him going, but the change to the heat of the polling-booth had been too much for him and he had succumbed to his potations. So I lost a vote!

After a very strenuous fight, the result of the election was the return of Mr. Estcourt and myself, Mr. Fuller being beaten by some fifty votes. The result certainly justified his opposition, and it proved that the Conservative estimate of the strength of the Party was quite erroneous.

The General Election of 1880 was taken somewhat suddenly, following upon the letter written by Lord Beaconsfield to the seventh Duke of Marlborough, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Unfortunately, there had been a very bad harvest in '79, the farmers had had a ruinous time, and the conditions in the country districts, upon which the Conservative Party depended mainly for its support, were very depressing. The result was that Lord Beaconsfield was defeated by Mr. Gladstone, who became Prime Minister; and I commenced my Parliamentary experiences as a Member of the Opposition.

There are people who say that there is no such thing as luck, but I believe in it; and a Member of Parliament who finds himself a supporter of the Opposition, and not of the Government, in his first session, is a very fortunate individual. He is able to study the procedure and practice of the House of Commons at his leisure. He is able to enjoy far more independence and freedom in his own

personal attendance and intervention in debate. If he has any Parliamentary gifts and aptitude, he has a much better opportunity to give proof of them than if his Party is in office. Then he is called upon to vote consistently for the Government, and very often finds it extremely difficult to take any effective part in debates; especially is this true in these days, when so much work has to be done and the Whips often find themselves compelled to exercise all their power to shorten the debates.

The House of Commons of 1880 was the last to contain the "Country Gentlemen Party," as it had existed for many decades. Although the character and general tone of this ancient and splendid assembly have not altered materially, in many respects it is a very different body from that which I first joined over forty years ago. The average country gentleman entered the House of Commons in much the same way that I did, performing what he regarded as his duty, without any particular ambition to do more than serve his county and his country and the agriculturist interests to the best of his ability. As a rule he made few speeches and did not desire to take part in debate. He was content to be present in the afternoon, and, when required, after dinner; to record his vote if there was a division, but otherwise to take no active part in the proceedings, except as a member of the various committees which did then, and still do, a great deal of the work of Parliament. The consequence was that any of the younger men who were prepared to devote themselves to the daily work of the House and were able to take part in its debates, found themselves given opportunities which are not enjoyed by their successors.

In those days it was the exception, not the rule, for Members to dine in the House. They were expected to be present up to the dinner hour and to return in good time for the later part of the sitting. The House met at

four o'clock, and by a common understanding the speakers were divided into the big men and the small. The former occupied all the time up to, say, seven o'clock, and from 10.30 till the rising of the House at 1 or 2 in the morning. There was no eleven o'clock rule, no fixed day for Supply, no closure and none of the existing customs which have given the Government of the day a much larger measure of control over the business and time of the House.

The smaller men were expected to speak during the dinner hour, according to the convenience of the Front Benchers and the important Back Benchers. I remember very well my experience when I first addressed the House. It was in the year 1881, upon the Second Reading of an Irish Bill. In response to an invitation by the Whip, I undertook to be in my place, and to take part in the dinner hour. I rose somewhere about 8.30, and as a new Member was duly called. The audience consisted of the Speaker, a junior Member of the Government, a junior Member of the Opposition Front Bench, some of the officers of the House and a friend of mine who was there to support me. The next night my friend and I reversed our respective rôles, and I was there to support him. I suppose there were also present some half-dozen private Members on both sides who were waiting to speak. Apart from the strangers in the galleries and the messengers there were not more than twenty people in the House on those occasions. An amusing incident occurred in connection with this particular speech. The representative of the Front Opposition Bench, who was present—a brilliant and kind-hearted Ex-Minister—met me in the Lobby after I had spoken. Grasping me by the hand, addressing me in warm terms of commendation, he congratulated me on my speech and assured me that I had made an excellent start and was sure to get on. I thanked him, and naturally was elated by his praise. The next night

my friend and I met the same Front Bencher in the Lobby. He grasped my friend's hand, and said to him exactly what he had said to me the previous night! My friend, who, I think, knew a little more of the ways of Parliament than I did, passed hurriedly on, whereupon the eminent individual asked me if I had heard what he had said and added: "The good fellow's speech was a very poor one, but, you see, we're obliged to say these things to the young fellows in order to encourage them, and keep them going or they would never do the work we want." He was quite oblivious of the fact that he had used the same language to me the night before!

I have always thought that the "Country Gentlemen Party" did not make anything like full use of their power and opportunities. At that time the Conservative Party drew its support mainly from the country districts. Though there were, of course, a not inconsiderable number of Whigs who were country Members, the Tory Party of that day was chiefly composed of country Members and the Whigs of borough Members. The former contented themselves with a series of motions and resolutions about agricultural taxation and other similar subjects. They failed altogether to grasp the possibilities of the future. They did not realize that the towns were growing in size and would shortly acquire greatly increased Parliamentary representation, and that there would then come a demand for legislation of a totally different character from that which had hitherto been conceived as being possible, much less probable. The writing was on the wall as clear as it was in the days of Belshazzar's Feast, and by the adoption of a rather more progressive policy, and by showing a wider and broader interest in general questions, I think they could have avoided the catastrophe which overtook them after the Reform Bill of 1884–85.

My first Parliament was a remarkable one. Mr.

Gladstone's powerful Government was badly shaken in their very first days by the trouble in which they found themselves in what is known as the "Bradlaugh Incident." They also got into deep water over their difficulties in Egypt, and the Government Whips had to appeal to our Party and obtain their support in order to keep the Government in office. Our Party was divided from various internal causes, and it was a fact known to all that we were not in a position to turn the Government out. The only course open to us was to support them against the more extreme Members of their own Party. To do this we divided ourselves into "watches" and undertook to be present to support the Government when they were in difficulties. I was getting such hunting as I could at the time with the Beaufort Hounds, and therefore I selected as my time, midnight until, if necessary, eight in the morning. There were no motor-cars and none of the fast trains which run nowadays for the convenience of the public. I used to leave London at 5.30 in the morning, providing the House was up, take the train down to Chippenham, have my hunt, and get back to London by the train leaving Chippenham about 7.30, getting my food as best I could. I was at the House at midnight and I would stay there till it rose.

The Government eventually brought in a Franchise Bill. There was a deadlock over its passing, because the House of Lords insisted that the franchise should be accompanied by an impartially constituted system of re-distribution. In the meantime the Government was beaten over the Budget. Lord Salisbury took office in a minority, as all the world knows, and at the Election of 1885, which followed the Reform Bill, the Conservative Party was defeated, mainly on the question of "*Three acres and a cow*," which had not been included in Mr. Gladstone's original policy, but was manufactured by the Party

organizers out of some proposals of Mr. Chamberlain's "unauthorized programme."

I had a very strenuous fight in Wilts. The county had been divided into five divisions and I was selected to fight the Eastern part, which had been included in my old constituency and was purely agricultural in its character. There was a strong movement in favour of what we called "Fair Trade," of which the leading advocates were Lord Chaplin, Mr. James Lowther and Mr. Ecroyd. Great play was made with this policy in the agricultural constituencies, and the labourer, who had only just been enfranchised, was told that if the Tories got in they would find themselves compelled to live as their forbears had done in the old days before the repeal of the Corn Laws. Whereas if the Liberals were elected they would have a big loaf and three acres of land; to the three acres was added, by local enthusiasts, a cow; hence the evolution of the policy alluded to above. The issue came to be described as starvation on the one side and plenty, with three acres and a cow, on the other! It may sound exaggeration to those who did not know those days, or who have forgotten them, but in my part of England the election was fought upon these cries. Although my name was known throughout the division, there were parts of it in which I was personally a stranger. It often happened that when my wife and I drove into a village, we were met by the wives of labourers, holding children by the hand or with babies in their arms, who would greet us with the cry, "You want to starve these," pointing to the children.

My opponent was a Mr. Barber, a distinguished Q.C., quite unknown in the division, who had been sent down from London to fight the seat. Poor man! I have always felt very sorry for him. He did his best to fight cleanly, but he was swept off his legs by these cries, the purport of which he could not ignore. Although he knew

they were entirely delusive, he was compelled to accept the platform provided for him by his more enthusiastic and less scrupulous supporters.

The election campaign really commenced in June, and it did not end till December. The autumn was very cold, and we had the most awful weather. Often I had to drive forty to fifty miles, attend four or five meetings in the afternoon and evening, leaving home at about two o'clock in the afternoon and not returning until one or two o'clock in the morning. In addition, in some of the more distant and rough parts of the constituency, the working men were aroused to such a pitch of fury by the statement that my Party intended to starve them and their children that they became very violent. In some cases matters went so far as to lead the authorities to believe that I was threatened with personal violence. The result was that I had often to be accompanied by a small force of police to protect me in the event of a serious attack. I remember on one occasion we were driving in a fly and pair of horses to attend a meeting in the valley of the Avon. It was very dark and raining hard. When we reached a certain point the carriage was stopped, the horses taken out and a cheering crowd proceeded to draw us along the road. I was looking out of the window and I noticed that we were passing through another crowd, upon whose faces the lamps of the carriages and the torches of my crowd threw a weird light. I thought that they looked very hostile and wondered what it all meant. When we got to the school-house where the meeting was to be held, one of my perspiring supporters said to me, as I got out, "We did that well, didn't we, sir?" Upon my asking him what he meant he replied, "Why! the Radicals had arranged to meet you a short distance before the bridge which leads over the river. They were going to cheer and shout and lead you to believe that they were

your friends. Then they were going to take out the horses and run you into the river at the drinking place. We fortunately heard of this, so we turned out, skirted round through the fields and met you a mile further along the road and brought you right through them, and jolly well sold they looked!" It certainly was an escape for us from what might have been a most disagreeable situation.

Although my opponent and I did our best to deprecate any sort of personal hostility or unfair tactics, the election atmosphere became very warm before the middle of November and some very unpleasant incidents occurred. There was a free fight in one of the villages, some of the men arming themselves with scythes and other weapons. One farmer, a splendid fellow, was terribly injured by a cut over the head and shoulders, and I believe he never really recovered from the brutal assault.

Two of the most effective speeches which I have ever heard were made during this election. One by a Marlborough master at a Liberal meeting, and the other by an old rag and bone merchant at one of my meetings. On the former occasion, when we had held our meeting, one of my supporters told me that a Liberal gathering was being held close by, and he suggested that I should go and hear what was said. I went and stood in the darkness on the outskirts of a small crowd, and heard the speech, of which I give a summary, delivered by an extremely good fellow, a friend of mine, who was incapable of doing what he thought to be an unfair act. He said, "You have got two candidates, Mr. Barber and Mr. Long. Mr. Barber is for the working classes, for lifting you up out of your condition of serfdom, for giving you access to the land, and altogether for the general improvement of your conditions. Mr. Long is against all this, not personally, we all know him and respect him, but he is a member of the Conservative Party and must vote as they tell him. Mr. Chaplin and

Mr. Lowther are in favour of taxes on corn and meat. Mr. Ecroyd is in favour of taxes upon all other articles which are brought into this country. This means that everything you want to buy to feed and clothe yourselves and your children will be so dear that you will not be able to live. So I say, vote for Mr. Barber." I was sorely tempted to answer him, but I knew that in the excited condition of the people this would lead to a disturbance. However, the effect upon the electors was undoubted and I felt certain that they would follow his advice.

The other speech was delivered at a meeting which was held in my support in a country village, also in the valley of the Avon. We had had a perfectly quiet meeting and the speeches had been listened to without any interruptions, but also without any expression of either assent or dissent. The resolution of confidence in me as a candidate had been carried by the votes of the clergymen, farmers and others present of a similar standing, the labourers not voting at all. At the end and just before singing the National Anthem, an old rag and bone merchant, who was very well known in the district, got up and said he wished to say a few words. He was a tall, thin, very handsome man, and he made one of the shortest speeches, and at the same time one of the most effective, to which I have ever listened. He said, "You are asked to-night to vote for Mr. Long. We all know all about him and have not a word to say against him, but he is wrong. If you vote for him you go back to the days when I was a boy. Then I had to start work in the morning with two barley bannocks. I had eaten them both by eleven o'clock, and all I had to do for the rest of the day was to tighten my belt. Don't you go back to those days," and he sat down. I realized that without a doubt his speech had been more effective than all the rest put together—but not in my favour.

However, notwithstanding all the difficulties, when the poll was announced in Devizes, I was declared elected by a majority of 167. There were the usual speeches and triumphal processions. Devizes is a very Conservative place, the headquarters of the division, and the feeling against Mr. Barber in consequence of the statements and tactics of some of his supporters had risen to a very high pitch. He was honestly afraid that, in return for the attacks made upon me, there might be retaliation, and he asked me if I would shake hands with him before the crowd on the steps of the Bear Hotel, from which it was the custom for Member and candidate to return their thanks to their supporters. Of course I agreed. We shook hands in the most dramatic way possible, and he asked me if I would keep the crowd assembled in front of the hotel while he made his way to the station which was behind. I assured him he was in no sort of danger and that no one would molest him. But he was utterly exhausted, and therefore I consented. He returned to London by a train which left immediately. I adjourned to my agent's house in the town to have a long-delayed luncheon. He was a well-known and respected landowner and solicitor in the neighbourhood, and at the conclusion of the luncheon he rose to propose the health of the "Member for the Division." He had just got these words out when a servant entered and whispered something in his ear. He turned very white and said to me in a hurried whisper: "I am wanted at the Town Hall, please excuse me," and off he went. We sat on for a while and eventually adjourned to the drawing-room, awaiting his return and to hear what had happened. After a while he came back, and coming straight up to me said: "Well, you are still our Member, but your majority has been reduced from 167 to 97. The Returning Officer found three boxes which had been put on one side with-

out their contents having been emptied into the common pool of votes. The agent for the other side and I were both summoned, and we agreed with the Returning Officer that the boxes should be opened and counted and that we would accept the result. Most of the first hundred votes that came out were against you and I made sure that your majority was gone. However, it turned out in the end that the result was as I have said; you still have a majority, but a reduced one."

I often wonder what would have been the result if my majority had been wiped out. The writ had been dispatched, speeches had been made, the crowd had dispersed, electors returned home, and the Liberal candidate was half-way to London. Whether the agreement arrived at by the agents would have been binding I cannot say. I have consulted many election experts and they do not know. It was a most interesting and exciting experience, and my agent told me that he thought he would never survive the strain of the counting of the extra votes, that he was quite unable to come to a conclusion as to the proper procedure and kept asking himself, "What course am I to adopt if the majority is destroyed?" The Returning Officer was the Under-Sheriff, one of the ablest and best-known solicitors in the county, who had previously acted for many years as the agent for the Liberal Party in the Northern Division. A strong political opponent, a man of the highest honour and integrity, incapable of an unworthy action, he felt acutely the awkwardness of his position, as he realized it was possible that the more extreme members of our party might accuse him of prejudiced action. He said to me afterwards: "I thought at the time, when the counting of the newly discovered votes was in progress, and I saw that they were telling against you, that if it were possible for a man's hair to turn white in one hour

I should find myself looking very different from what I had hitherto."

There is no doubt, I think, that the Election of 1885 was materially affected by the fact that a considerable number of electors, who had come on the register for the first time, remembered vividly the sufferings they had endured as children in the days before the Reform of the Corn Laws. In their mind any attempt to tax food was regarded as a certain return to the cruel days of which they entertained such bitter memories. Nobody can, I think, blame them for the opinion they held, or wonder that they should in their indignation have occasionally resorted to violent methods.

Here is a pathetic instance which occurred to myself. Some time in 1881 or 1882, I was riding in the neighbourhood of my home when I met an old man who had been for many years head keeper on an adjoining estate. I had known him ever since I was a boy and he was a close personal friend of mine. I stopped to talk to him and he told me he was in great trouble, that he had been discharged because of his age—he was over seventy—and that his employer had told him he must give up his cottage as it was the only one available for his keeper. He did not know where to go or what to do. One of my lodges had just become vacant, and I told him that if he liked he could come and live there for the rest of his days, an offer which he gratefully accepted. In the Election of 1885 I heard that he was ill and that he very much wanted to speak to me, so I went down to see him. After some talk he told me that what he wanted to say was that he was too ill to go down to the poll, but that if he had been well enough he would have recorded his vote against the candidate whom I was supporting. He went on to say that he could remember the days (like the old rag and bone merchant) when he went to work with very little

to eat, and that he would never risk a return to those days for those who came after him, and he would vote against any candidate who supported taxes upon food-stuffs. He added: "After all the kindness you have shown to me, Squire, and our friendship, I felt I should not be behaving honest if I didn't tell you the truth."

It was really a very touching incident, and it serves to show how imperishable is the memory of those who endured the hardships of the old days when taxes were imposed, not for revenue and preference purposes, but in order to prohibit imports. Needless to say, I assured him that it was quite unnecessary for him to tell me this, that I had been only too glad to provide for him, and that, had he been able to go to the poll, he would, of course, have been free to vote as he liked; I should never even have asked which candidate he was supporting. The incident was the more remarkable because it was perfectly well known that I never interfered in any way with the exercise of the franchise by those whom I employed—indeed, I have always made it a rule never to discuss politics with the men who work for me.

During this election three or four of my men came to me of their own accord to seek my advice as to how they should vote. I told them it was no business of mine, that they ought to vote for the man whom they thought would render the best service to the Empire and the country, and left it at that. I afterwards heard they had boasted that they had told me they would support the Conservative candidate, while actually they had voted for the Liberal. In the Election of 1886, which followed immediately after, I was addressing a meeting in the village, and I told the electors, most of whom were either in the employ of my tenants or myself, that I hoped they would always act in a free and independent manner. I impressed upon them they had no cause to think they would suffer if they

supported the candidate to whom I was opposed. I added that I attached special importance to courage and truthfulness. I had never asked any man how he was going to vote or sought to know anything about it. If anyone came to me and volunteered the information that he was going to support the candidate for whom I was going to vote, I begged him not to do so unless he was satisfied in his own mind that that candidate was the one to do the most good. It was really curious to see the effect my words had upon the men whom I have mentioned. Instead of facing me boldly, as did the rest of the audience, they sought to hide themselves—an action which served to prove that my information was correct. However, I think the result was satisfactory, as somehow or other it brought home to them that they could vote as they pleased without any fear of the consequences.

That this fear was prevalent there is no doubt, and at the risk of being accused of vilifying my opponents I think it was in a large measure due to the fact that the Liberals persistently declared in speech and pamphlet that the ballot was secret, that a man could vote as he pleased, and that as no one would know how he had cast his vote, he could not be punished. The implication was that if their Tory employers knew that their men had voted Radical, they would find some means of punishing them. I never found any real attempt to exercise influence of this kind, and the allegations which did come to my knowledge were by no means confined to one party. Happily to-day we have got beyond this state, and the working man knows well that he is free to vote as he pleases. Indeed, in 1923 it is difficult to believe anybody could have held a contrary opinion.

CHAPTER VII

A MINISTER—THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD

THE Election of 1885 resulted in the return of Mr. Gladstone by a substantial majority. Lord Salisbury decided to meet Parliament, and the Government was defeated on the Address by an amendment moved by Mr. Jesse Collings advocating the provision of land in small quantities for the labouring man. Our Party passed into opposition.

It was evident in the debate on the Address that Mr. Gladstone had made up his mind to concede some measure of Home Rule to the Nationalist Party, which was then led by Mr. Parnell, who had formed it into a very compact and powerful organization. This momentous decision ultimately brought about the break-up of the Liberal Party, as many of them, under the leadership of Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain, voted against the Home Rule Bill, which was rejected by the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone dissolved Parliament in June, 1886, and sought confirmation of his policy at the hands of the electors. This was a "hurricane" election, and very different from its predecessor. It was held in brilliant summer weather, during the harvest, and it may fairly be said that the only question was whether Home Rule should be granted to Ireland. The result was the defeat of Mr. Gladstone and the return to power of Lord Salisbury, who remained Prime Minister, with an interval of three years (1892-95), till he resigned in 1902.

After the election I was staying with a friend for

an agricultural show when I received a telegram from Mr. Schomberg McDonnell, Lord Salisbury's Private Secretary, asking me why I had not replied to a letter Lord Salisbury had written to me. As I had not received the letter I could not very well have answered it, and I telegraphed accordingly. When I came to read the morning papers I found that my name was mentioned for appointment as Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board. I had neither expected nor desired office and was very greatly surprised. I went up to London in due course, accepted Lord Salisbury's flattering offer, and found myself installed in office for the first time. My chief was Mr. Ritchie, afterwards Lord Ritchie of Dundee, and I had a most interesting and agreeable period of service under him. He was a very generous chief, treated his subordinates with the utmost confidence, and he made my position a very pleasant one.

He definitely handed over to me the Poor Law work, which was a very important branch of local government administration, and, in consequence, I acquired a knowledge of our local government system in its most complete details which has been of the greatest value to me.

The permanent head of the Local Government Board at that time was Sir Hugh Owen, one of the ablest and most industrious civil servants, and one of the kindest of men. He was a mine of knowledge, and had had great experience. There was no question connected with public administration, and with local government, of which he was not able to give one accurate and reliable information. If he had a failing, it was that he insisted on doing too much himself, the result being that work was delayed, as the neck of the bottle was too small to allow of the contents to pour easily through. He wrote a beautiful hand, that was most minute, though every word and letter was legible. He had very strong views as to wasting

paper, and as a consequence he used to double and redouble the pages of the files, writing his minutes very often upon what was practically only the margin of a sheet, so often had it been refolded. This made the work of studying the files by no means easy. However, he was a wonderful man and a model of all that a civil servant should be, except, perhaps, for the one little failing I have mentioned, and he was beloved by all who served with him.

Lord Salisbury had made a great speech at Newport (Mon.) before the election in which he outlined his policy, and he intimated his intention to introduce a Bill dealing with county government on the lines of the Municipal Corporations Act. This part of his policy had a far-reaching effect upon my political activities. My chief was essentially a townsman, and emphatically avowed that he had no knowledge or experience of county matters. Consequently I was called upon to aid him, more than was usually the case with an Under-Secretary, in framing the great Bill which is now known as the Local Government Act of 1888.

I think it is fair to say that we who were responsible for the preparation of this measure have every reason to be proud of our handiwork. It has stood the test of time. It has required very little amendment, and the County Councils which were created by it have done splendid work and have been given continually increased duties, which they have discharged most efficiently.

There was considerable controversy as to the form the new county authorities should take. Should the Councils be composed of popularly elected bodies entirely, or in part elected and in part nominated by the Quarter Sessions. The latter bodies had done their work extremely well and very economically, and there was a very general feeling among representatives of the counties that they

should be recognized by permitting them to nominate some members of the new Councils. This opinion was reflected in the Government, some members of which were rather afraid of the violence of the change to purely elected bodies. Lord Randolph Churchill, the Leader of the House of Commons, was very strongly in favour of the complete change ; and I believed that the attempt to put nominated members on the Council would lead to serious difficulties and that comparisons would be drawn between elected and non-elected members to the grave detriment of the latter, and that it would be wiser to follow closely the analogy of the Municipal Corporations Act. I remember that at one committee meeting there was a somewhat prolonged discussion on this question. It is said that when we came out Henry Manners, one of the Prime Minister's Private Secretaries, now Duke of Rutland, told his friends that he had seen us emerge, and that Lord Randolph Churchill appeared very much annoyed, while I looked like a schoolboy who had just received a flogging at the hands of the headmaster ! I am bound to say that this description accurately reflected my feelings ! However, Lord Salisbury was a splendid chief to serve under. If he administered a rebuke when he thought his subordinates were not doing what was expected of them, he was a most generous chief and he enabled one to do one's work with perfect confidence and to rely upon his guidance and support. Eventually, as I have said, the Bill was produced, and after a prolonged fight it passed into law. So was set up the greatest reform in local government that has probably ever been attempted.

During the six years Mr. Ritchie and I were at the Local Government Board many other questions were dealt with in addition to the reform of local government. A real advance was made in dealing with slum areas and

enabling better provision to be made for working class dwellings.

One problem connected with the reform of county government presented exceptional and peculiar difficulties. How was London to be dealt with ? It was too big to be treated as a borough, and it could not be regarded as an ordinary county. Mr. Ritchie determined to adopt a plan of his own. As I was as ignorant of London government as he was of county government, he did not consult me or tell me of his proposals. Until it was unfolded in the House of Commons, I was quite ignorant of his scheme.

In the meantime, great interest was aroused, especially in the City. It had been led to believe that the intention of the Government was drastically to deal with its ancient Corporation. All kinds of rumours got abroad, among them one to the effect that it was proposed to interfere with the rights and privileges of the City Companies. Although I knew nothing of the scheme for London, I was deputed by my chief to attend various dinners in the City and deliver reassuring speeches. These I could only make on information given me by the President, which consisted of very definite assurances that the Government had no intention of indulging in any measures which would injuriously affect its civic life.

It was a somewhat unlucky period for me. I had adopted a self-denying ordinance in regard to the consumption of any form of alcohol for a period of two months. So, although I was offered the very finest of wines, I had to be content with water ! As I am not an abstainer, though, I hope, I am a temperate individual, I had cause to regret my resolution !

However, we succeeded in allaying the fears which had been aroused, and ultimately the Bill was placed on the Statute Book creating the London County Council. It

left to the City and the London Companies their rights and privileges.

One very drastic step was taken by Mr. Ritchie which aroused a great deal of hostility and caused very bitter feeling. The Metropolitan Board of Works was a body which had certain statutory powers within the Metropolis and had done much useful work. Unfortunately, in consequence of some grave trouble which arose in connection with the Board, Mr. Ritchie made up his mind that the proper course was to bring it to an end in the most peremptory way, by Order-in-Council. Needless to say, the Board had many powerful friends ; its chairman was Sir James McGarrell Hogg, an extremely able man and universally liked. Consequently this sudden and painful end to the body with which he had been associated was bitterly resented by many Londoners and undoubtedly made Mr. Ritchie's position much more difficult than it otherwise would have been. Among other great achievements the Board had made the Thames Embankment, probably one of the finest improvements ever carried out in London. Not only did it add immensely to the beauty of the river side, but it provided a magnificent thoroughfare between the west and the east, which greatly relieved the traffic. It is difficult to imagine what would be the condition of London traffic to-day if there were no alternative route alongside the river. As things are the congestion of traffic in London is appalling, and I confess it is scarcely to the credit of successive Governments that no serious attempt has hitherto been made to deal with the question. There have been many inquiries, reports have been made from time to time, and it is difficult to believe that any further investigation is required. What is wanted is a definite plan which will deal with traffic on practical lines. The problem in these days is very different from what it was in 1886, when there was no motor traffic. To-day

the majority of vehicles are mechanically propelled, though there still remains a proportion of horse-drawn conveyances. The confusion resulting from this commixture of two totally different forms of transport must involve an immense financial loss to London. Some reformers propose that the horse-drawn vehicles should be forbidden altogether on the main thoroughfares and be made to go round by the less busy routes. It is a very drastic suggestion and it seems to me that the time is not yet ripe for its adoption. Would not a great deal be effected if the police made it an unbroken rule to compel the slow vehicles to keep close to the curb ? It is, I believe, one of the police regulations at present, but it is most certainly not enforced. However, any remedy to be effective must be much more complete than this, and it is to be hoped that before long some really serious effort will be made to deal with this most troublesome and pressing problem.

The establishment of the London County Council by no means solved the difficulty of London government. There were still the City and certain old boroughs and the vestries. Probably one of the best reforms was the passage of a Bill some years later for which Mr. Balfour was responsible. It divided London into boroughs, setting up municipal areas with certain powers of government of their own.

The London County Council was so large and its duties were so important that it was almost a competitor with the House of Commons. In the early days the Liberal Party stole a march upon our Party, fought the elections on political lines, advanced a very Progressive programme for the reform of London government and obtained the control of the London County Council by a very large majority. They were fortunate in securing as their first chairman Lord Rosebery. However, they soon threatened London with such heavy expenditure that their policy

brought about a decided reaction. An organization was formed which was called "The London Municipal Society." It attracted to itself many of the most active among London Conservatives and Unionists. In due course, by putting forward good candidates, and by close attention to the details of London government, the Moderate Party, as they then called themselves—the name was unfortunate—ousted the Progressives.

The creation of the London County Council, with its political activities and opportunities for securing support for Parliamentary elections in various London constituencies, created considerable feeling amongst our Party and led to Mr. Ritchie's temporary downfall. He was strongly criticized and violently opposed by many Conservatives, who thought he had betrayed them by setting up this tremendous engine in London. Although I had no responsibility for establishing the London County Council, and frankly did not believe it to be the best way to deal with London government, I have always thought, and have frequently said in public, that Mr. Ritchie was hardly, even unjustly, treated. When he was passing the Local Government Act he felt very strongly that local administration ought to be carried on without the intrusion of party politics, and he laid great stress on this in his speeches, both in Parliament and in the country. The result was that our Party adopted his policy. We were taken at a disadvantage and it certainly appeared that Conservative interests would suffer permanently as a consequence of his legislation. Nevertheless, he was a strong Conservative in his opinions, and probably nobody knew better or as well as I did that he really desired to establish an enduring form of local government within the London area.

If he did not at first achieve this in the form which he took as his ideal, it was not due to any failure to appreciate the merits of the Conservative view. Still less was

there any intention to injure the position of his Party by his legislation. I think myself that he ought to have been given a little more credit for good intentions even by those who did not approve of the way in which he sought to give effect to his views. However, he lived down his unpopularity and ultimately became Chancellor of the Exchequer.

There was another detail in the process of reform to which I must refer. It was of importance at that time, and to-day it threatens to assume very serious proportions, in connection with the whole subject of local government. We realized that it would be impossible to put towns like Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, into the new county areas. We therefore proposed to make them "counties of cities." We were at once confronted with the difficulty that there were certain old boroughs created by ancient charters which were already "counties of cities." We proposed that of the younger boroughs those with a population of not less than 150,000 should be scheduled and made independent authorities. In committee in the House of Commons public opinion ran so high that it became necessary to introduce amendments by which boroughs exceeding 50,000 in population were included in the schedule.

The result of a borough becoming a county in itself—a county borough as it is now called—is that it is taken out of the county for all purposes and administers the whole of its own government. It follows from this that the county loses the rateable value of the county borough. If there are two or three county boroughs in any one county, a very grave inroad is made into the material provided for the County Council out of which to maintain the administration of its own area. To-day a conflict is raging between the representatives of the boroughs and of the counties, the latter seeing quite plainly the destruction of the government of their area if the wealthier portions

of it are to be subtracted and made independent for all purposes. As an inquiry is now proceeding I content myself with an expression of the facts and a hope that a satisfactory solution may soon be found.

In the General Election of 1886 my majority had been turned from 97 into one of over 1,700. This measure proved to be my undoing so far as the representation of my own county was concerned. When the General Election of 1892 came it was impossible to convince my supporters in the more distant parts of the county that there was any need for hard work. Indeed, in hundreds of cases electors did not trouble to go to the poll, as they thought the seat quite safe. Polling day unfortunately happened to be very cold and wet, and a great many took refuge in this belief in order to avoid the discomfort of turning out to record their votes. The result was that the seat was won for the Liberal Party, my opponent securing a majority of 130 odd.

The Conservative Party was defeated at the polls and Mr. Gladstone again became Prime Minister, but with a small majority.

Mr. Ritchie had also lost his seat for St. George's in the East, and there was consequently no representative of the Local Government Board on the Front Opposition Bench. A vacancy occurred in the West Derby Division of Liverpool owing to the lamented death of Mr. Cross, the eldest son of Lord Cross, a most promising young man and universally popular. I was fortunate enough to be asked to offer myself as a candidate. The invitation came quite unexpectedly. I was staying with some friends and was out running with the beagles. When I returned to the house I found a telegram asking me to come up to Liverpool to interview the council of the city and division. I had barely time to bath, change, and get to the station. The train was actually in motion, but I just managed to

scramble into the guard's van and succeeded in reaching Liverpool that night ! The next morning I was interviewed by the chairman and some members of the council for W. Derby. I was recommended for adoption and in a very few hours I was accepted as candidate for the division. However, as the vacancy had occurred through death it was impossible to hold the election until the Speaker could declare the seat vacant. In consequence I was not elected until the early part of the next year. When the fight came it was a very different one from any I had previously experienced. I was very lucky in my chairman, in the members of my committee and in my workers and secretaries. They were a remarkably able body of men, knowing Liverpool and the West Derby Division intimately, and inspired by a wonderful zeal and energy. The chairman was the late Mr. Edward Cookson, a former Mayor of Liverpool and a well-known merchant. He was one of the most astute and courageous men one could wish to meet ; he thoroughly knew his city and its people, and from the day I became candidate until the day when I unhappily resigned in 1900, I did nothing without first referring to him and obtaining his advice. He always insisted upon entertaining my wife and myself at his charming house, Kiln Hey, where he made our political visits quite delightful, and taught me, for the first time, how simple, easy and agreeable a political contest could be made. He remained a great friend of mine up to the day of his death. He was very proud of Liverpool, very proud of its strong working-class Conservatism, and absolutely determined that he would never run the risk of losing the seat for the Conservative Party. I am tempted to name some of the others who worked under him, but the list is too long and they would, I am sure, wish me to confine myself to a passing reference to him. They worked under him as one man. They accepted his decisions without question and, speaking with a

long experience of politics and of constituencies, I do not hesitate to say that the organization of the West Derby Division was about as perfect as it could be.

Our opponents declare that we have no supporters among the working men. Indeed, it used to be said that if there was such a thing as a Conservative working man, he ought to be put in a glass case and placed in a museum. Under the Franchise Laws of those days there were many electors with dual qualifications. So confident were Mr. Cookson and his advisers that they cheerfully allowed all the duplicate voters to be transferred to other divisions, relying absolutely on the working men of the division. That they were right was proved by the fact that they had continuous and large majorities for our Party. I spent eight happy years as one of the Members for Liverpool. There were nine of us, eight being Conservatives and the ninth a Nationalist—Mr. T. P. O'Connor, now Father of the House of Commons. At that time the Nationalist Party was a powerful body, and Mr. T. P. O'Connor was one of its leading and most distinguished Members. He is now the only representative left in the House and has always been universally popular, quite irrespective of his politics. The influence of the city made itself felt in the surrounding county area, consequently Liverpool has been able to boast that from the city itself and the surrounding areas and boroughs Conservative traditions are maintained and upheld in the finest possible manner.

Certainly it was a wonderful place to represent, full of vigour, real enthusiasm and wonderful intelligence. The working men were Conservative by conviction. They knew very well that they were able to vote as they thought right and gave the lie in the most emphatic manner to those who tried to maintain that the Conservative Party was the Party only of the rich and well-to-do. The demands made upon the Member in those days were of the most moderate

kind. They maintained their own cricket and football clubs, and all they asked of their representative was that he should show his sympathy by a very moderate donation and by attending some of their gatherings.

The only "fly in the ointment," and I feel it is hardly fair or just even to criticize anything connected with Liverpool politics—was to be found in what were called "Hot-pot Suppers." They were usually held in very small, low rooms and the heat was intense. Consequently, they were somewhat of a burden to the flesh, but they were enthusiastic gatherings, attended by splendid fellows, every one of whom worked his hardest, not only at the election, but between times, and the Member or candidate was only too glad to attend, even though he sometimes felt that he must melt before the end.

One characteristic of Liverpool politics in those days greatly impressed me, and it has always seemed to me to be worthy of general adoption. Public meetings were always held at eight o'clock. They began punctually to the second; and they ended with equal punctuality at ten o'clock. Staunch and true though the men of Liverpool were, they had their own rules. If any politician had unwisely sought to disturb their customs, they would, I feel sure, have asserted themselves and made it quite clear that any departure must be justified by some special occasion and not be allowed to become an ordinary practice.

Liverpool offered one the most wonderful audiences, quick in the uptake, appreciative of every point and quite intolerant of anything they regarded as humbug. I remember on one occasion we were holding a meeting in some very big schools, which were crowded to their utmost capacity. After I had made my speech, questions were invited in the ordinary way. Presently a tall, cadaverous man proceeded to read out two or three questions to me. After he had reached the third, there came a chorus from

the working men all round him : " Don't you bother about him ; don't answer him ; he's one of those professional chaps sent down with a lot of written questions just to bother you ; don't believe he's even got a vote ; pay no attention to him." I was, of course, prepared to keep my promise and answer any questions put to me—if I could—but my questioner was so abashed by the unmistakable sincerity of my constituents that he retired into his shell and said no more. This was a very good instance of the broad common sense and steadfast determination of the working men of West Derby.

It was a wholly delightful constituency, and I look back with gratitude and the greatest pleasure upon the many happy days I spent there with Mr. Cookson at the old Conservative Club in Dale Street, and at the various meetings I attended from time to time. In the club there was a small inner society called the " Round Table," composed of some of the more prominent members. They did me the honour to include me in their number, and many a pleasant luncheon we had there, as well as occasional dinners. They were always cheery gatherings, and I received from the members, not only unstinted kindness and a hearty welcome, but great assistance and wise counsel about political affairs, whether Imperial or local. They were all men connected with the life of the city, many of them with its commercial affairs, so that they were in a good position to give practical guidance to their Members of Parliament.

I remember an interesting episode connected with Mr. F. E. Smith, now Lord Birkenhead. It had been decided to hold a meeting in the Hope Hall, and to obtain the services of a well-known speaker from London, whom I was deputed to find. Lord George Hamilton was good enough to say he would come, so the meeting was duly arranged. A day or two before the time they brought me the pro-

gramme, which was, in accordance with their custom, set out in strict detail—so many minutes for the chairman, so many for the proposer and the seconder, and so on, the remaining time being allotted to the chief speaker. I found that, as chairman, I was allowed five minutes (quite sufficient, as it has always been my rule when I am in the chair to reserve any remarks I may have to make until the end), five minutes for an ex-mayor of the city, who was the proposer of the resolution, and the same period of time for a speaker who was described as a young man who had had a brilliant career at Oxford and had consented to speak. I suggested that when he found himself in the presence of an enthusiastic audience he might forget the flight of time and exceed his limit, and that in this event the convenience of the distinguished speaker from London might be seriously affected. However, they assured me that this would not be the case. When the time came the ex-mayor and I faithfully adhered to the programme, but "the young man from Oxford" spoke for thirty-seven minutes without a check! In many cases this might have disturbed the audience and the visitor.

However, the speech was so brilliant and delightful that nothing of the kind occurred, and Lord George told me afterwards that it had been worth while coming all the way from London if only to hear it. When I was talking to Mr. F. E. Smith afterwards he told me that it was his intention to offer himself, shortly, for Parliament. I ventured to assure him, as a much older man, that if the speech we had heard that evening was a sample of what he could do, I was satisfied that he had a most brilliant career before him. Many years afterwards (in 1906) when he delivered that inimitable speech on the Address in the House of Commons, I met him in the Lobby, and he reminded me of what had passed between us after the meeting in Liverpool and expressed the hope that in his first

Parliamentary effort he had justified the forecast. I had most certainly proved a true prophet. From that day he has added distinction to distinction, having been Lord Chancellor at an age when most men are just beginning to secure a really good practice at the Bar, and has proved himself to be one of the most eminent lawyers and statesmen that has ever occupied the Woolsack. I am happy to say that the acquaintance formed at that meeting, renewed in Parliament later, ripened into a close personal friendship, which it has been my privilege to enjoy ever since. While I confess that I regret the line he has adopted since the dissolution of the Coalition Ministry, I hope, and confidently believe, that his marvellous abilities will before long once more be utilized for the benefit of his country and the Empire.

While I was Member for Liverpool I attended a meeting of a very different kind. A great gathering assembled in Hengler's Circus to hear Lord Randolph Churchill. The Circus was the biggest meeting-place in Liverpool, which was not well equipped with large halls. The desire to hear and see Lord Randolph was so great that applications for places were overwhelming, and the crowd which filled the theatre was enormous. Alas! we were doomed to disappointment. His health and strength had broken down, and his voice could not reach the vast audience. So great was the respect and admiration in which he was held by the people that he was not once interrupted nor did the audience betray the slightest impatience, although he spoke for a considerable time and I am quite sure a great many of those who were present did not hear a word he said. It was a tragic event and it filled one with the deepest sorrow. No man had served his country and his generation with greater brilliancy or more untiring industry, and we younger Conservatives all felt that he had done a giant's work by his efforts to enthuse our Party with new ideas and ideals.

When I found myself back in the House of Commons in 1892, owing to the absence of my late chief, Mr. Ritchie, I was charged by Mr. Balfour with the duty of following all the questions which might be raised affecting my old Department. This turned out to be a great piece of luck for me, as it gave me many opportunities of taking part in debate, and sometimes to be the chief representative of the Front Opposition Bench. My opportunity was increased by the fact that the Liberal Party were determined to complete the structure of local government by the reform of the old Local Boards and by setting up Parish Councils. The policy was heralded before the election by loud declarations as to the effect it would have upon the lives and the future happiness of the people. I believe it was Lord Salisbury who said he thought that the people, if they were given the choice, would much prefer a circus to a Parish Council, and would find it much more conducive to happiness! Whoever made the remark was greatly criticized, but as regards Parish Councils he was right. The forecasts in which the Liberal Party indulged as to the effect of the new centres of local government were very much exaggerated, as recent years have proved. What people really required were reasonable forms of recreation, such as village halls, concerts, social clubs and so forth. However, be that as it may, Mr. Henry Fowler, who had been President of the Local Government Board, brought in a Bill on behalf of the Government—the Local Government Bill of 1894. It reformed the Local Boards, the governing bodies that hitherto had administered the towns which were not boroughs, and set up in their place Urban District Councils, to be elected by the municipal franchise instead of the cumulative vote which had up till then prevailed, and created Rural District Councils, Parish Councils and Parish Meetings for very small rural parishes. It also gave to the Local Government Board of the day power to

confer certain urban powers upon parishes which were not big enough to have a Local Board, but required more power than it was proposed to confer upon Rural District Councils or Parish Councils.

The Bill was a very long one, containing many clauses, very complicated in its character, and offered opportunity for a great deal of criticism and amendment. Of course, the Opposition, to which I belonged, did not oppose the principle, as it was only an extension of an Act of Parliament we had ourselves set upon the Statute Book. It became my duty to advise my Leader, Mr. Balfour, as to the details and the general form of our criticisms, and under him, to take charge of the general conduct of our Party in the debate. It gave me, for the first time, an insight into his ways and methods. At first he was invariably present on the Bench, never taking part unless appealed to by me for help or he felt himself impelled to intervene in some particular discussion. He never seemed to be watching me, but I was conscious of the fact that he was fully alive to all that was going on. Becoming, I suppose, eventually satisfied that he could trust me, he left me in charge of the Bench and retired to his room, where, of course, there was always a great deal of work awaiting him, and told me to send for him if he was required. I have never forgotten the effect upon me of this mark of his confidence. It inspired me to do my utmost, to leave no stone unturned to ensure the Bill was made a thoroughly workable one, and generally to see that the attitude of the Opposition towards the policy of the Government was one that would redound to our credit at the polls when the time came for a new election. It was wonderful good fortune for me, and the knowledge I had acquired as a country gentleman and during my six years at the Local Government Board stood me in excellent stead.

I have often told Under-Secretaries who have served

in the House of Commons with their chief sitting there also, that they must never give way to despair if they find they have been called upon to do a great deal of hard work for which they feel at the moment there is no apparent return, because if they stick to their business, and remain in Parliament, the work they had done would be of immense benefit to them at some future date. What I mean is this. It is the ordinary duty of a Minister to be prepared to defend the policy and administration of his Department, to meet attacks and to defeat them, and, of course, to steer through Parliament any Bills it may fall to his lot to introduce. All this involves hard work in getting up facts, figures, precedents, and the results which may follow from the adoption of various amendments. Many a time when I was Under-Secretary from 1886 to 1892 have I worked early and late in order to prepare myself for some debate, on the off chance that my chief might be absent, or might depute me to take charge of the business for him. Ninety-nine times out of a hundred it was time seemingly wasted. Either he was present himself, or, if he had to be absent, thought it right to postpone the debate until he could attend. My chance seemed never to come, but later on when I was called upon to be the exponent of the Opposition views in regard to local government questions, all work I had done proved to be of the greatest possible value, as also was the store of knowledge and information I had acquired. If these words of mine are read by any Under-Secretary, or by men who may in due course hold any such office, I hope they will find comfort in my experience and realize that hard work is sure to tell in the long run.

The debates on the Act of 1894 ran on through the Autumn Session, through Christmas into the New Year. The Minister, Mr. Fowler, one of the ablest men on the Government Bench, was also one of the fairest and most courteous of opponents. I am proud to be able to record

that he never once complained of Opposition tactics, but was good enough at the end to express himself in terms of warm admiration of the way in which we had conducted the fight. Indeed, he went further, for he also voiced his gratitude for what he regarded as valuable assistance, which had tended to really improve the Bill. My own chief was generous and unstinted in his approval of the work which had been done, and the way it had been carried out. This was his usual custom. It was impossible to serve under him without learning, not merely to admire his wonderful abilities, but to love him for his splendid consideration and kindness to others. He was an ideal chief.

In passing the Local Government Act, 1888, and that of 1894, Parliament did good and enduring work. It has not been necessary in the time that has elapsed since they became law to do more than pass one or two slightly amending Acts of Parliament, and the structure of both Acts remains as Parliament passed them. If all statutes could stand the same test of time and practice there would be more respect for its work than is, I am afraid, the case at present.

The Liberal Party of 1892 had a very small majority, quite insufficient to stand the stress and strain of keen Parliamentary warfare. However, they introduced some far-reaching and decidedly contentious legislation, and there were divisions in their own ranks over some questions. Ultimately Mr. Gladstone retired and was succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord Rosebery. Some sixteen months later they fell and appealed once more to the country. The General Election which followed gave the Conservatives a large majority, and Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister and proceeded to form his third Government. He did me the honour to invite me to become President of the Board of Agriculture, with a seat in the Cabinet. My friends, both in Wiltshire and Liverpool, were very enthusiastic

over my promotion, as in those days if a man became a Cabinet Minister at forty he was supposed to be very young for the job. I do not know what are the usual feelings of men when, for the first time, they become members of the Cabinets. I can safely say that in my case I was profoundly impressed with the responsibilities of the position, and for some considerable time, at all events, I did not venture to take part in Cabinet discussions unless invited to do so by the Prime Minister.

I think it is agreed that this Administration was a strong one ; certainly it contained many great men whose names stand high in the history of the country, and I held myself to be very fortunate to be permitted to sit in council under Lord Salisbury, and with colleagues from whom I was able to learn lessons of the greatest possible value.

After the General Election of 1886, when the Liberal Unionist Party first came into existence and united with the Conservatives in opposition to Home Rule, the Government that resulted was purely Conservative, as Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain decided to retain their independence as a Party. While giving Lord Salisbury's Government general support, they had no representative in the Ministry.

The fact that a Conservative Government, during six years in office, had received steady support from the Liberal Unionists, both in Parliament and in the country, and that their support was continued during three years of opposition, led to a free interchange of ideas, and brought Liberal influences to bear upon Conservative policy. Gradually the two Parties came closer together, and in 1895 the Government was composed of men selected from both Parties who acted together in the closest possible co-operation.

CHAPTER VIII

IN THE CABINET—THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE

THE Board of Agriculture was at that time a young Department, having only been created just before the fall of the 1886 Government, mainly through the efforts and hard work of Mr. Chaplin. This great English gentleman played a leading part in the political, social and sporting life of his country. He was a fine speaker of the old-fashioned school, and delivered many great "orations" from his place in Parliament, and was one of the most deservedly popular men that ever lived.

Until he took up the question of a separate Department for Agriculture, the care of this great national industry had been entrusted to a Committee of the Privy Council, and it had been the practice to make some member of the Government of the day the representative of the Agricultural Committee in Parliament. Mr. Chaplin was, however, thoroughly dissatisfied with this arrangement. Being a large landowner and a practical agriculturist, he had a thorough knowledge of the various problems, and he felt that our national industry deserved a separate Department, properly staffed and able to devote all its time to the study and care of interests connected with the land. His efforts were at first seriously hampered by the unwillingness of the Treasury to concede a demand which they, quite rightly, considered must add to the burden of Civil Service expenditure.

At first the Department was formed by the transfer of certain officials who had hitherto served on the Committee

Lord Salisbury's Cabinet—'95 Government.

[*To face p.* 114.

of the Privy Council. It soon became evident that if the Department was to do its work efficiently, and with any degree of thoroughness, it must be able to command, not only a large staff of officials, but a body of men who were capable and also young enough to be able to bring enthusiasm and new ideas to the performance of their duties.

When the Department was formally created in 1889, the permanent head of the Department was a civil servant who had come to the end of his time and who could only continue in public service long enough to give the new office its start. It fell to Mr. Chaplin to find a suitable man to make the permanent head of the office. He was one of my greatest friends, and he discussed the question with me on many occasions. Finally I advised him to see Mr. Thomas Elliott, who was then Private Secretary to Mr. Ritchie. I had known Mr. Elliott for a long time. When it was decided, in 1886, to bring in a complete reform of local government, Lord Randolph Churchill, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, resolved to carry out a plan which had been talked of in Mr. Goschen's time, but had never been adopted—to establish a Local Government Budget, which was to be quite separate from the National Budget, to be reviewed by Parliament each year and to be dealt with on its own merits. It was, of course, essential that the reform of county government should carry with it a very complete change in the system of grants-in-aid and of local taxation. Lord Randolph instructed me as Under-Secretary at the Local Government Board to get into touch with the Inland Revenue officials and to endeavour to work out a really big and satisfactory plan. He gave me a note to Sir Algernon West, who was head of the Inland Revenue Department, telling him to give me such support as I might ask for and not to hesitate to supply me with the best assistant he could provide for the purpose. I took the note to Sir Algernon. He read it, looked at me, and said:

"Well, my dear friend, I have to give you, so the Chancellor says in this note, the very best man I can, to carry out the work you have just described to me. I do not hesitate in saying that the right man for your purpose is Mr. Thomas Elliott. I will send for him and you can tell me what you think." Presently Mr. Elliott appeared, and after a short conversation, I satisfied myself he was the very man I wanted. Then began a friendship which has lasted right down to the present time. I am sorry to say I see little of him now as he is performing duties which necessitate his continued residence in Rome.

Our object being to get rid of the system of making over certain grants-in-aid to the local authorities, as this method could not be regarded as a satisfactory one, we evolved a plan which in due course we handed to Lord Randolph. He was very complimentary about it and he told me he had included it in his Budget, which, alas! he was never destined to introduce, as he resigned office before the time came to present the annual Financial Statement to Parliament. What his Budget was I, of course, did not know, as I was not a Member of the Cabinet. Mr. Winston Churchill, in his brilliant life of his father, hints at the very important changes in the financial system which were proposed. I believe they included a wholesale revision of the existing system of local finance; and I presume that it was the intention to adopt a Local Government Budget on the lines laid down in our report. I have always regretted Lord Randolph Churchill was unable to carry out what I am sure would have been a great, far-reaching reform, especially the particular one in which I was, and am, greatly interested. In some quarters there is a report that his son looks forward to the time when, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he may introduce a Budget on his father's lines. If this be true and he obtain his ambition, I hope I may be there to see it, and to find

in his proposals the result of so much hard work done by us so many years ago.

After Mr. Elliott and I had completed our task he returned to his ordinary duties in the Inland Revenue Department. Shortly afterwards Mr. Ritchie told me he was greatly hampered by the lack of a really efficient private secretary, who must be capable of preparing his work for him, not only as President of the Local Government Board, and as a Cabinet Minister, but also the material he required from time to time for speeches he had to make in the country. I at once advised him to try to get Mr. Elliott. He did, and I have good reason to know that he never regretted his choice. He told me afterwards how grateful he was to me for making the suggestion, and he always said Mr. Elliott proved to be one of the very best private secretaries a man could possibly have.

Subsequently I advised Mr. Chaplin to offer Mr. Elliott an appointment, which after due consideration he did, and I know he was as pleased with his work at the Board of Agriculture as Mr. Ritchie had been. The services he rendered to agriculture from that time until he retired were of the most brilliant and enduring kind. He was always receptive and appreciative of the difficulties of agriculturists and it is largely due to him that the Department was formed on foundations so solid in their character.

Under Mr. Chaplin the Board of Agriculture regarded as their first and most important duty the protection of the health of our herds and flocks. He had gone through the terrible ordeal of the sixties, when disease had ravaged, indeed in some places decimated, the stock of the country, involving severe loss on the community in general. He was consequently determined that the new Department should regard it as their primary task to do everything they possibly could to protect our animals from infection at home and from invasion of disease from abroad.

He had secured the services of Major Tennant, who had come from the old Privy Council Committee, a most capable and fearless administrator. Under him was a strong branch known as the " Animals Department," which was brought from Whitehall. Before I took office great improvements had been effected under Mr. Chaplin in the condition of the health of our animals. Both Mr. Elliott and Major Tennant assured me that we had only to persevere steadfastly in the course which had already been adopted, and that, if we were fortunate enough to have a period of, say, five years during which to carry out our operations, they were very confident we could clear the country of diseases of all kinds, including rabies. This terrible scourge which produces hydrophobia in human beings, inflicted the most painful form of death upon its victims, and to deal with it satisfactorily offered many difficulties. The Conservative Government had been fortunate enough to secure a very large majority at the polls, and there seemed every prospect of our remaining in office for the requisite number of years, consequently we decided to assume the control of this disease, as of the others, in the Department in Whitehall, and proceeded to lay our plans accordingly.

One of the peculiarities connected with rabies was that, though everybody realized the awful character of the disease, and, indeed, dreaded it as they did the plague, the number of cases in which death occurred throughout the country in the course of a year were, as compared with many other diseases, quite few. Consequently, it did not excite in the minds of people in general sufficient fear to prepare them for drastic measures. Here again the luck, to which I have referred more than once, came to our aid. Two cases occurred which attracted great public attention and secured no little support for us from those who realized that, if it were possible, a big effort should be made to

eradicate the evil. At the same time there was a widespread feeling that this result could never be achieved, consequently, when we promulgated our measure, very violent opposition was aroused in many quarters.

It is necessary to add here that at that time there was a considerable controversy as to the origin of the disease. Many people believed that it was not infectious or contagious, but that it was produced by neglect and lack of proper food. Our first duty, therefore, was to make such scientific inquiries through the Veterinary Department as would enable us with a reasonable degree of certitude to declare that if active cases were promptly dealt with and risk of infection reduced to a minimum, we should be able to stamp it out.

Their report proved that the disease could only be conveyed by subcutaneous infection. I therefore instructed Major Tennant and his subordinates to draw up a scheme and submit it to me. In due course this was done, and I approved it. The scheme made it obligatory upon owners and police to give immediate notice to the Board of any case of hydrophobia. Regulations were framed and issued which aimed at the immediate detention of a suspected animal, and the most vigorous inquiries as to all other dogs with which the suspected one had come in contact. The latter were to be divided into two classes—those which were to be placed under strict control, and those which would be merely under supervision. As a result of our inquiries, it was further decided that an area of about twenty-five miles from the centre where the outbreak occurred should be regarded as the limit within which these measures should be enforced, as experience tended to show that the infected animal was very seldom able to travel more than a few miles. The experts advised us that if a mad dog found himself in perfectly open country like the prairie or the desert or veldt, he would probably travel a much longer

distance, as the tendency of the poor beast was to go at full speed, straight ahead, and that if left to itself it would race along until it fell from exhaustion. It was believed that it did not bite people from anger, but from fear, and that in a closely inhabited country like this, where it could not escape contact with humans, it did not cover more than quite a short distance.

This scheme immediately aroused great antagonism. It was stated broadly that our scientific diagnosis was incorrect, as the disease was not really contagious, and the cases would continue. The regulations were described as wholly unsatisfactory, irritating in their character, and it was declared that they would be ineffective in their results. Great play was made with what seemed to be an obvious flaw in the system, namely, that within the twenty-five miles area dogs would be controlled and muzzled, whilst immediately over the border they would go free. At first sight this seemed to be a valid objection, and it was contended vehemently in the Press and among that very large section of the community who are owners and lovers of dogs, that we were acting tyrannically. In vain did we urge that if a person cut his finger, he would put plaster on the wound, but not over his whole body. This and similar illustrations were brought to our aid, but the opposition grew, and at one time it looked as if it would overwhelm us.

I have often received great commendation for the policy which was carried out during those five to six years. Really it was undeserved. I had nothing to do except sit tight, tell Major Tennant and his officials to carry out the regulations, and defend the policy in Parliament and in the country. I had, of course, in the first instance justified it to my colleagues. Some of them naturally shared the doubts of many of the public, but they accepted my views, gave me a free hand, and supported me loyally

through what was, without doubt, a somewhat trying time.

Looking back upon those days it is almost impossible for me to realize how violent was the opposition to which we were exposed. However, as I have said, we were greatly aided by the two cases which occurred at a most opportune time, and by the publicity given to them by the Press. One case occurred in a large town. The dog, as usual, ran *amok*, and went through a group of small children coming out of school. He bit several of them and they had to be sent to the Pasteur Institute in Paris. This naturally caused a feeling of horror and dismay among many thousands of people who, up to that moment, had not given much thought to this particular disease, and it gave birth to an insistent demand in many quarters that support should be given to the Board of Agriculture in its efforts to make the recurrence of so dreadful an incident impossible.

The other case helped us to meet a very common and seductive criticism. Our regulations were applicable to all dogs, large or small, young or old. The owners of small lap-dogs, almost toothless with age, protested frantically against their pets being subjected to the cruelty of detention, which involved separation from their owners, or that they should be muzzled. At almost the exact psychological moment a case occurred in one of the London hospitals which attracted widespread attention. A nurse, of great experience and knowledge, had a small dog, of which she was very fond. It was very old and almost toothless. It betrayed symptoms of illness and she proceeded to tend and nurse it herself. What exactly happened nobody really knows. From such information as reached us we came to the conclusion that whilst the poor little beast was in a paroxysm of pain she tried to soothe it. Anyway, she seems to have come in contact with its mouth. She received a scratch upon her lip, and in a very short time she

died of hydrophobia. This case, of course, created a great sensation, and disposed once and for all, except amongst the fanatics, of the contention that the old pet dogs were harmless.

It has often been said that the opposition came only from old ladies and others who were devoted to their pets. This is not really the case. Many masters of hounds, many strong-minded men and women owners of dogs, fought us stubbornly and determinedly. In some cases they did not believe in the efficacy of any method, however drastic, but held the disease to be incurable and ineradicable. In other cases, while they believed it could be stamped out, they did not believe in the policy which the Board had adopted.

A Canine Defence League was formed, which conducted a great campaign in the Press and recruited an immense number of supporters. It drew up a petition to the Prime Minister praying for my dismissal from office. It was exposed for signature at all shows, especially dog shows, and at many other places. The petition was ultimately presented to the Prime Minister, and the claim was made that it bore about 80,000 signatures. Lord Salisbury was very amused by this agitation. He told me he had received the petition and he asked me if I would like to have it to keep. I thanked him, but declined. I have always rather regretted my refusal, as I doubt whether there is another case of a request for the dismissal of an *individual* Minister having been supported by so many signatures.

As we proceeded with our policy we had, of course, to muzzle very many different areas, including some of our largest and most important cities, and the feeling of hostility grew ten-fold. As a proof of its reality I remember a distinguished statesman, strong-minded and very able, saying to me one day: "I don't doubt you are right,

and that we shall stamp out the disease in time, but I am afraid before that result is achieved we shall have stamped out the Unionist Party." He was led to make this remark by the fact that the agitation had become political in its features. When a by-election occurred, the Canine Defence League and its friends took a very active part in opposing the Government candidate. Even some of the higher placed organizers became alarmed and told us that they were afraid they should lose a great many seats on this issue. We had, however, made up our minds that the disease must be, and could be, stamped out, and that to achieve this great result some risks would have to be run. As a matter of fact, notwithstanding the violence of the opposition, not a single election was lost on account of our policy.

The feeling against myself was undoubtedly very strong. I have, as a Minister of the Crown, frequently been under police protection, and have been duly warned that I must be careful, and so on. Never during my political career did I receive anything like the number of threatening letters that reached me during those five years. At first it was the practice of my private secretaries not to bring them to me, but accident led to my discovering they were coming in, and after this I frequently saw them. I have often wondered how people can be so foolish as to send missives of this kind. If they are genuine, then they are the most cowardly weapon a man can use. If, on the other hand, they are the product of an idle or a disordered brain, they are a curious form of correspondence for people to adopt. In either case they cannot surely have any effect upon the recipient, unless it be to make him still more determined to continue the prosecution of his policy. However, needless to say they had no effect upon us. When the abuse became more than usually bitter, and attacks in Parliament especially severe, dear old Tennant used to ask

to see me, come to my room and say most pathetically : "I can't say, sir, how sorry I am that you are the object of all these wicked attacks, but I do hope you will stick to your guns and go on, for if you can stand this for a time I am quite certain we shall win out." I used to chaff him in reply and tell him he was putting an end to my Parliamentary career, though I always ended by assuring him that my intention was to go through with it, and that I was certain we should come out successfully.

In other ways luck favoured me. My mother, who was a great dog lover, had a very large number of pedigree dogs, and was well known in the dog world. One of the first areas—indeed, I believe it was the very first—upon which I had to impose the Muzzling Order was the part of Devon in which she lived. This fact was freely used by my supporters, who, regardless of their own position, as, of course, they shared the obloquy, stood loyally by me, and urged with great effect that this proved the *bona fides* and impartiality of my action. My dear old mother, in her desire to support me, used to parade in her bath chair up and down the broad drive at Exmouth, accompanied by a whole pack of dogs of all breeds and sizes *and all carefully muzzled !*

Another area upon which we had, at a very early stage, to impose the regulations was Birmingham. Mr. Chamberlain, one of the most powerful Members of the Government, was the leading Member for Birmingham, and this helped me enormously, as everybody realized that if he had thought it right to object to the policy and to take a strong line, it would have been impossible for a junior Member of the Cabinet like myself to carry on in face of his hostility. I have never been quite sure whether he himself actually believed in the policy or not. From occasional remarks which he let drop I have always fancied that he had some doubt as to its success. In this, however, as in

everything else, when he had made up his mind to support a colleague, he did so with all his heart and soul, and he would listen to no suggestion of intervention.

We had a map prepared of the whole country, showing every outbreak as it occurred and the number of muzzled areas, together with the direction in which suspected animals had been traced. One rather troublesome practice which we had to fight was a tendency immediately to destroy and bury a suspected dog. We did not approve of this concealment, as rabies is a disease upon which the inexperienced may easily make mistakes. For this reason we were anxious that our local veterinary inspector should be present to conduct a post-mortem examination when an animal had to be destroyed, so that there should be no doubt as to the existence of the disease.

The opposition from some of the masters of foxhounds was very determined. Of course, in some cases hunting had to be stopped and the hounds confined to kennels and paddocks. Thus the Hunt was deprived of its amusement and, of course, great loss was inflicted upon the masters. I remember an interview with a M.F.H. who came up to the Board of Agriculture. After he had put his case, and I had explained my policy, he kept saying : " Yes, that's all very well, but how am I to exercise my young hounds ? " He repeated this observation so frequently that I had to tell him I had no further answer to make, and that I was afraid I could spare him no more time.

Our regulations included a period of quarantine for any dog brought in from abroad and the prohibition of any dogs being taken abroad. In consequence, all kinds of difficult cases arose. One friend of mine found he could not take his greyhounds to Ireland to run in some great stakes. Another great friend, who was in very bad health, had a favourite dog from which he never parted. He was

going to Cannes for the winter, and both he and his wife implored me to give them permission to take the dog. I could quote cases *ad infinitum*. I daresay it is true that, if a few exceptions had been made and strictly limited in number, no great harm might have resulted. But it seemed to us that if it were known that exemption could be secured, the position would very soon become serious, and might easily result in breaking down the whole system. I am satisfied we did right in persisting in a steadfast refusal to any such requests.

On the whole I am bound to say I received all the support I could possibly expect or ask for. Bitter though the opposition was, and violent as were the attacks, I do not think that they were more than was to be anticipated in connection with a policy, new to the country, drastic, and in regard to which it is fair to say there were often two opinions as to the best course to adopt.

Fortunately there is always a humorous side to everything, and some really ludicrous incidents occurred. One summer I was playing in a cricket week down at Chudleigh, when one of the local eleven came up to me and said: "I think, Mr. Long, you had better conceal the fact that you are responsible for the Muzzling Order. The shepherds up on the moor are furious with you, and if they knew you were here they would probably come down and go for you!"

Of course, I had an immense correspondence, part abusive, part suggestive, but there was one case which, I think, stood out above all others. A certain clergyman, who had a great command of his pen and of the English language—indeed, some of his letters seemed to me a little inconsistent with the rules and practice of his cloth—was constantly writing abusing my policy. Frequently taking a high line, he charged me with interfering with the rights and liberties of the subject. Imagine, therefore, my sur-

prise and amusement when one day I received a telegram from him telling me there was a case of rabies in his house, blaming me for not having my officers on the spot to deal with it, and demanding that they should be sent down at once!

Our policy was as follows: to destroy the suspected dog if the grounds for suspicion seemed adequate; to declare the case one of rabies after the brain had been examined in our Veterinary Department; and during the interregnum to regard it as proved. If the result of the diagnosis showed it to be a mistake the restrictions were at once removed. It was the duty of the inspector to trace the movements of the dog and forthwith to put into force the regulations I have described, and to remain in charge of the area till all necessary steps had been taken. There was a large body of temporary assistant inspectors, some of whom would be put in charge of the district according to the size and population, but until the area could be declared clear it was not allowed to pass from the control and jurisdiction of the Department.

Previous to the adoption of this policy, muzzling had been entrusted to the local authorities, and consequently had only been carried out in a spasmodic and intermittent fashion. There had been no real attempt to get a complete hold of cases, either proved or suspect, and to deal with them in an effective manner. While our primary desire was to check immediate outbreaks, we also had in mind the establishment of a system which would give security for the future, and once the machinery was perfected, we felt, as events have proved, that it would always be possible, as it were, to build a wall round any case, clean up the whole of the area and so prevent that mysterious conveyance of the disease which had led to its constant reappearance. The credit of our success really belongs to Major Tennant and the admirable officials he collected under him.

One feature of the opposition, which I could never understand, was deserving of unqualified condemnation. People who possessed lap-dogs would adopt every sort of stratagem to prevent their discovery when they were either entering or leaving the country—chloroform them, convey them in bags and muffs, and catch at every kind of artifice to escape the vigilance of the Custom House officials. I am glad to say the wariness of the latter defeated the efforts of the delinquents in the long run. Local authorities prosecuted in a very public-spirited manner, the benches of magistrates imposed adequate penalties, and at last, the attempts having hopelessly failed, they were almost entirely given up.

Notwithstanding the bitter character of the criticisms and the violence of the opposition, I am glad to say I did not lose many friends during those days. There were, however, one or two cases which filled me with surprise and caused me much more amusement than annoyance. A very well known Liberal Member of Parliament came to see me at my office to tell me that the local authorities proposed to prosecute his wife for bringing in a dog without a licence. I replied that I regretted the lady in question had tried to evade the regulations, but the local authorities were only doing their duty. To this he made answer in tones of genuine astonishment: "You don't mean to say you are going to allow my wife to be prosecuted like a common thief?" I answered: "I am afraid there is no alternative." He then settled himself firmly in his chair and said: "The thing is outrageous. I shall not leave this room till you have promised me that the prosecution will be stopped." I replied very quietly: "I am a busy man, and so, I believe, are you. I give you two minutes in which to leave my room, and if you are not gone by that time I shall summon two of my messengers and order them to remove you." This was enough for him, and he got up,

saying: "All right. I will raise this question in Parliament," and he left the room. I need hardly say I heard no more about it.

One man whom I knew very well, a well-known Peer, refused to speak to me for many years because he had been prosecuted and fined. There was another very amusing case. At a dinner party in London, after the ladies had retired, a young man, whom I did not know by sight, found himself sitting next to me. He obviously did not know me, because he began by criticizing the Board's regulations. He said that they were absurd, and that he for one intended to defy them, as he was shortly going to import a dog and not attempt to get a licence. I did not feel bound to reveal my identity, and contented myself with warning him that he was embarking on a somewhat dangerous course and that he would probably find the officials would be too much for him. I ascertained his name and warned the Custom House officials that attempts were going to be made by certain people to introduce dogs. I am glad to say that when he made his effort he was detected and fined. I do not think I acted unfairly. I warned him, and if he did not know who I was, it was no fault of mine.

In spite of the antagonism and criticism, I am thankful to say that at the end of five years we were able to declare the country free from rabies. We knew at the Board of Agriculture that not only was this the case, but we also felt convinced that the machinery we had devised was so complete that in the event of the unfortunate introduction of a case from abroad at any future date the immediate imposition of our regulations would make it impossible for it to spread and it would be comparatively easy to stamp it out. This has proved to be true. Until the difficulties inseparable from the Great War arose we had been quite free from this noxious pest, and the cases resulting

from dogs being smuggled in from abroad during that period have been dealt with in quite a short time, so that to-day we are again free.

I derived immense pleasure from the resolutions of thanks I received from our great Medical Association, especial satisfaction from one which stated that not only was the country rid of this terrible scourge, but that the treatment of infantile cases had been immensely aided, because it had become possible, when the symptoms were of a certain character, to eliminate hydrophobia as a cause of the trouble, and so to concentrate attention upon other causes, such as infantile paralysis. Many a doctor and surgeon has assured me that it has been of immense benefit to them in their work and has enabled them to save cases which might otherwise have been lost.

I have told this story at some little length, as I honestly think it is worth telling. It is also clear proof that if a policy is well thought out, definitely decided upon and applied with energy and determination it is generally bound to succeed. Especially is this true of disease of an infectious or contagious character in a country which happily, being an island, lends itself better to the adoption of a protective policy than a country which has only land boundaries.

When the General Election came in 1900 we were able to declare the country free from all kinds of troublesome diseases, the only one which still defied our efforts being swine fever.

Much other work had, of course, to be done in the Department. We had to carry a Bill amending the Agricultural Holdings Act, which at the time was a very contentious subject, there being considerable movement in the country in favour of giving agricultural tenants security of tenure and what practically amounted to the same privileges as had been conferred upon the tenant farmer in Ireland.

However, we succeeded in maintaining our views, while we were able materially to improve the position of the tenant farmer without doing any injury to the owner. We were able considerably to increase grants-in-aid for agricultural education, and to do much to strengthen the existing training colleges and centres and create new ones. Although unhappily we were not able then, or since, to help the agriculturist in the main difficulty he has to face, the uncertainty of, and occasional heavy drop in, prices, we had, I believe, the satisfaction of knowing that we had secured the confidence of the agricultural community, who learned to look to us as reliable champions of their cause.

It is certainly true to say that in those days the Board of Agriculture was entirely free from what are called " political tendencies." We existed in order to watch the case of the agriculturist, to give the farmer the fairest opportunity which could be secured to carry on his industry with success. We regarded it as our primary duty to give the greatest possible security to owners and breeders of stock, which forms one of the most lucrative branches of the industry. All the world has been in the habit of coming to the British Isles for their breeding stock, not only because they know it is the best, but also because, hitherto, they have been assured that from the point of view of health it can absolutely be relied upon. I have said we had failed to eradicate swine fever. One reason for this, I believe, is that the germs are carried by birds. It is therefore almost impossible to check the spread of infection. This view is, however, contested in some quarters, and I am not in a position to speak with authority. Happily to-day the disease is much less malevolent than it was, and consequently we hear little about it.

I have left to the end any reference to a Bill which we thought right to introduce in 1896 amending the law governing the importation of cattle into this country from

over-seas. As the law stood when I went to the Board it was necessary for the Minister to issue an Order-in-Council stopping individual consignments. In the experience of the Department this procedure was a most insufficient and unsatisfactory protection against disease. It led to grave inconvenience and loss to shipowners, and to the traders who owned the cattle. I recollect in one case some shiploads had to be held up in the Thames. The cattle were not allowed to be landed and slaughter of a wholesale character had to be carried out on board, a most unpleasant and, from a pecuniary point of view, a most unsatisfactory proceeding. We decided, therefore, to prohibit the importation of cattle from across the sea, from some countries absolutely; cattle from other countries were allowed to come in for slaughter at the port. Our policy prevented the importation from Canada, amongst other countries. It created much dissatisfaction and annoyance in that great Dominion, and there was a rather violent controversy between the Canadian Department of Agriculture and our own as to the existence of disease among Canadian cattle. Many interviews and discussions took place, but in the end we were unable to arrive at an agreement and we felt bound, in the interests of the stock-owners of this country, to adhere to our decision and pass the Bill. It was hotly contested in Parliament, and prophecies were freely made that it would end in raising the price of meat to starvation point, more than one Member declaring that we should see meat at two shillings a pound as a consequence of this legislation.

However, as I have said, we considered it to be our paramount duty to safeguard the health of our herds. We passed the Bill. For twenty-five years it has remained unchallenged upon the Statute Book, and experience has proved that the gloomy prophecies made by our critics in 1896 were entirely without foundation. No rise in the

price of meat, such as was anticipated, took place. The greatest confidence was given to owners of stock, as a result of which the breeding of pure-bred stock increased enormously, and proved to be a most fruitful branch of the agricultural industry. All the world, recognizing the fact that our herds were absolutely free from disease, came to buy our bulls and heifers.

I shall allude later to a development of this policy, leading to a most bitter controversy. Notwithstanding all that has happened since, I am quite confident that our view was perfectly justified and that the most beneficial results followed in regard to the breeding of cattle in the British Isles.

CHAPTER IX

BACK AT THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD

AFTER the Election of 1900, when Lord Salisbury reconstructed the Government, he did me the honour, in a very kind and generous letter, to suggest that he would like to recommend me to the Queen for appointment as President of the Local Government Board. With the wonderful detailed knowledge of all that was going on in the country, he pointed out to me that some very difficult questions would arise. Unemployment had suddenly become acute owing to various causes of quite recent origin. Also the question of the water supply of London had to be dealt with.

I have not made any reference to the outbreak of war in South Africa, which had occurred in November, 1899. For the moment, of course, it pushed all other questions to one side. I do not think it is necessary for me in these Memoirs to make more than a passing reference to this great question, because it has been fully dealt with in many different books. I may, however, say that our paramount duty was the prosecution of the war with the utmost vigour and determination. Remembering all that took place, from the correspondence with the late President Kruger to the Declaration of Peace, I, at least, am not prepared to admit that we were neglectful in taking all the steps necessary to secure a successful termination of the struggle. That the power of the Boer to put up a strong resistance was not at first appreciated was no doubt

At the Local Government Board with Sir Samuel Provis and Private Secretaries.

[*To face p.* 134.

true, but, whether the criticism be addressed to the Government of the day or to the War Office, I think any impartial student of events will come to the conclusion that on the information which the Government possessed they did not fail to do their duty.

My wife and I had a personal cause for anxiety. Our eldest son had been gazetted to the Royal Scots Greys and went with them to the front in 1899. He served with his regiment and on the Staff of Sir Bruce Hamilton with great distinction, and was more than once mentioned in dispatches, and was severely wounded. He obtained his captaincy with less than five years' service and in addition was awarded the D.S.O., thus commencing well the brilliant military career which ended only with his death in 1917 in the Great War.

While the energies of the Government were primarily devoted to the successful prosecution of the war, we had to deal at the Local Government Board with many pressing questions, including those to which I have referred. A severe drought had affected the water supply of the Metropolis, which was under the control of eight different companies. The Government felt that the time had come to make a determined effort to carry through a complete reform of the system, as it was believed that if the companies were amalgamated under one body, it would be found that the joint supply would be enough to give London all the water it required.

This was no new question. More than one previous attempt had been made to deal with it, the most notable of which is to be found in a Bill brought in by Mr. Cross, the Home Secretary in Lord Beaconsfield's Government. This did not succeed, and it was always supposed, whether rightly or wrongly, that the result had been, not only the failure to secure a much needed reform, but that considerable injury had been inflicted upon the Conservative Party

in London. Our duty was to examine the past history of the case, and to endeavour to find a solution which would be satisfactory from the point of view of the water supply, fair to the companies, and also to the ratepayers of London. Ultimately we came to the conclusion that the eight companies must be amalgamated, and their supplies, works, and so on, bought up. The question was to arrive at a fair basis of purchase. In the end it was decided to proceed by arbitration.

A further difficult problem was the constitution of the governing body.

The choice appeared to lie between three courses :

(*a*) The London County Council;

(*b*) A separate body elected *ad hoc ;*

(*c*) A new authority, to be composed of members elected indirectly by the representatives of the whole water area, which, however, was not coterminous either with that of the London Administrative County, or with the Metropolitan Police Area.

There was much to be said for selecting the London County Council as the new authority. On the other hand, it was felt that their duties were many and onerous and that it would be unfair to add to them. The advanced views of many members of the Council gave rise to feelings of alarm at entrusting them with further powers.

Opinion was against an *ad hoc* body, as it was felt that there were already as many elections in London as were desirable. To add to them was not only to increase the inconvenience resulting from so many appeals to the electors, but there was an actual risk that insufficient interest would be taken in the constitution of the new body, and this might lead to unfortunate results. Ultimately it was decided to adopt the third proposal. Not unnaturally it led to violent opposition by the Liberal

THREE GENERATIONS.
Lord Long, General Long and David.

[*To face p.* 136.

Party, a part of whose creed was objection to any governing body not directly elected.

However, the Government decided to accept our recommendations and it became my business to prepare and introduce a Bill.

First of all, it was necessary to prepare Londoners for the change. The Government had been fortunate in securing the return of a large number of Conservative Members for London. I therefore determined to form a committee composed of London Members and to hold a series of small meetings throughout the Metropolis, at which the existing condition of things could be explained in detail and our policy put before the people. First we had several meetings of those who were willing to help us and thoroughly instructed them, especially those who volunteered their services as speakers. We then held meetings all over the area, gradually aroused the keenest interest in the question and succeeded in obtaining considerable support for our policy. When the Bill was introduced it was manifest that there would be strong antagonism, and the value of our organization now became more than ever apparent. The London Members knew their case thoroughly, had discussed it scores of times, and were well able to take an active part in support of the policy of the Party. As a result the Bill was triumphantly placed upon the Statute Book, and a question which had long agitated London, and had been deemed insolvable, was satisfactorily disposed of.

Although, since that time, there have been some difficulties, some criticism, and possibly even some shortcomings, the policy has been justified by results, and the water supply of London has been, and is, on the whole satisfactory.

When the fight was over and the Bill had become an Act of Parliament, the London Members were good enough

to present me with a handsome silver folding-case containing the signatures of all of them. On the outside the following was inscribed :

Presented to
The Rt. Hon. Walter H. Long, M.P.,
President of the Local Government Board,
as a Souvenir of
THE LONDON WATER BILL,
by
Harry S. Samuel, M.P.

" A Long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together."

This is a short description of the controversy and its ending. I commend the methods we adopted to the consideration of any Minister who may be called upon to deal with a question affecting London as a whole. He will, I am sure, find it most helpful to adopt our plan and take the Members and residents into his confidence, and see that they are well informed in every detail. He will then find that he has invaluable support when it becomes his duty to introduce and carry through Parliament some controversial measure.

The next question with which I was confronted was that of unemployment. The difficulty had become acute, and many residents in the East End, including some of the Guardians, demanded that the Local Government Board should sanction considerable aid out of the rates. I had to receive deputations and reply to innumerable communications and suggestions of all kinds. As the law stood, it was quite impossible for us to sanction the request. Some of the more turbulent spirits organized demonstrations in the East End and threatened to march upon the Government offices in the west. I confess I did not believe in these fulminations, but the police at Scotland Yard ap-

parently took a different view. To my amazement one morning, on looking out of my window, I saw some hundreds of police marching into the Foreign Office quadrangle. I sent down to inquire what brought them there, and one of the officers came to tell me that they thought it necessary for our safety that there should be sufficient police at hand. However, nothing happened, whether because of the police demonstration or because better counsels prevailed I do not know. The main flaw in the system then existing seemed to me to be that the Guardians had no power to give assistance until a working man was actually threatened with starvation. The result was that many respectable, hard-working men were reduced to despair and misery, clothes and boots were worn out, and worse, they became physically and morally deteriorated. Not only did they become dependent upon the rates for existence, but when better times came they were not able to benefit owing to the experience through which they had passed.

I succeeded in establishing by Act of Parliament an Unemployment Body which could give work to the people, train them if necessary, at all events keep them employed until occupation was offered them, but I was not successful in obtaining a grant from the Exchequer, and therefore the operations of the Unemployed Committee were greatly limited.

I had to leave the Local Government Board before the Bill was through Parliament, for reasons I will describe presently. I am bound to confess that my policy did not find favour in any quarter. Among my own friends it was regarded as being too much akin to Socialism, while the more advanced thinkers looked upon it as incomplete and insufficient. After the General Election Mr. John Burns became President of the L.G.B. and poured scorn upon the whole thing. The prosecution of the plan was ultimately abandoned.

CHAPTER X

IRELAND

THE Government had been greatly weakened by the divisions which had taken place in our ranks in connection with the proposals to introduce a Tariff and to give Preference to the Oversea Empire. Several Ministers resigned, and a bitter controversy followed. It caused a great deal of feeling and a consequent loss of prestige and power.

Lord Salisbury, who had retired in 1902, and had been succeeded by Mr. Balfour, had died in 1903, full of years and honours. He had served the country and Empire with outstanding ability and distinction. The record of his work is to be found in the contemporary history of the country, so I will content myself with saying that it was a rare and unforgettable privilege to be allowed to serve under so good and great a man. I only hope our country will never fail to have amongst its sons some men of the intellectual gifts and lofty ideals which were characteristic of this splendid Englishman.

In 1905, Lord Selborne, who had been First Lord of the Admiralty, and had made a great name for himself and had rendered lasting services to the Navy, became High Commissioner for South Africa. Mr. Balfour, the Prime Minister, sent for me and told me that I was to succeed Lord Selborne as First Lord. He went on to say that as on one or two occasions I had consented to be "passed over," in his judgment the time had come when

I must be transferred to a "higher" post in the Government or there might be a misunderstanding as to my position. I thanked him warmly for his consideration, but said that I was very deeply interested in the work I had in hand at the Local Government Board and I was content to remain there. I added that I should like to be allowed to recommend someone else for the Admiralty office. However, he thought he could not entertain the proposal and wound up by saying, "You are First Lord of the Admiralty." I suppose I may say that, virtually speaking, I held that office, subject to kissing hands on formal appointment, for twenty-four hours.

When I left Mr. Balfour I saw his chief private secretary, Mr. J. S. Sandars, and told him what had happened. I asked him if he thought that, notwithstanding what the chief had said, I might ascertain if Lord Cawdor, who was Chairman of the Great Western Railway, would consent to enter Government as First Lord. Mr. Sandars, who knew his chief's mind better than anyone else, and occupied a very confidential position, replied that he could not advise me and that I must do as I thought right.

Accordingly I went to Paddington, saw Lord Cawdor and told him I had come to try to persuade him to give up railway work (which I knew to be proving a great trial to his health and strength) and to take up high office under the Crown. At first he was quite unwilling to even entertain the idea, and finally said that in any case he could not consent as he would be interfering with somebody else who had been serving the State for a long time and was therefore entitled to get the appointment. I then told him the facts of the case. I convinced him that nobody would suffer except it be myself, and pressed him very hard to allow me to place his services at the Prime Minister's disposal. Eventually he consented. I saw Mr. Balfour the next day and I told him that if it pleased him to offer

Lord Cawdor the post I was authorized to tell him that the offer would be accepted. The Prime Minister was good enough to repeat what he had said the previous day, but added, "If it be your wish I will recommend Cawdor to the King," and there the matter ended.

Alas! it was too late. Cawdor's health had been seriously undermined. Though he did some fine and lasting work during the brief time he remained as First Lord, in the end he entirely broke down. He died very shortly after, killed, if ever a man was, by devotion to duty and by overwork.

Very shortly after this incident grave difficulties arose in connection with the government of Ireland. Mr. George Wyndham had been Chief Secretary since 1900, and had won imperishable renown by his administration of that difficult office. Unfortunately his health became impaired, and he had embarked upon certain proposals which were misunderstood by the Unionists in Ireland. A great deal of bad feeling was the result. The Nationalist Party had been weakened by internal dissensions, and this fact had given Mr. Wyndham a wonderful opportunity, of which he had taken full advantage. I cannot pretend to do full justice to George Wyndham. He was really a most wonderful character, very handsome, splendidly endowed with all the gifts which go to make a great statesman, possessing brilliant literary powers, great foresight and unfailing courage. He gave of his best to the service of his country, and carried through some remarkable legislative achievements, which conferred immense benefits upon Ireland. It is a tragedy, no less, that the last year or two of his political life should have been clouded by misunderstanding and that he should have been compelled, by a complete physical breakdown, to resign office.

Among other things he had done, he had succeeded

in passing a Land Bill which will for ever stand as an enduring monument to his statesmanship and great insight into Irish difficulties and Irish character. It was a wonderful scheme. It offered solid inducements to tenants to buy. By enabling them to pay a rent-charge over a given number of years which actually amounted to a sum less than the rent they were paying, they became at the end of the period owners of the soil. At the same time it gave the landlords a fair price, and with the addition of a bonus would have left them better off than they had been before.

Mr. Wyndham had succeeded in bringing together a great Land Conference, attended by representatives of all the different interests. It proved to be a most remarkable success, and it paved the way for the introduction and passing of the Land Bill. Mr. Wyndham, and indeed many others, believed that at last the golden key had been discovered which was destined to unlock the door of the chamber in which was to be found the solution of many other outstanding problems, and he approached the task which still lay before him with unbounded hope and enthusiasm.

But there were difficulties which contributed in no small degree to his loss of prestige and influence. When the post of Under-Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had become vacant a short time before, Mr. Wyndham, on the recommendation of Lord Lansdowne, had offered the post to Sir Anthony MacDonnell, a distinguished Indian civil servant who had risen to high office in the Government of India and had been specially connected with land questions in that part of the British Empire. It was therefore believed that he would be able to render invaluable assistance to the Irish Government in this and in other questions.

The report went abroad that he was entirely in

sympathy with the Roman Catholic majority, and also held strong views in favour of Home Rule. This was naturally distasteful to the Unionists, and feeling became so strong and bitter that in a short time it was impossible for the Irish Government to do anything which did not appear to be wrong in the eyes of Irish Unionists.

Looking back, with the knowledge I acquired in the office of Chief Secretary, over all that happened during those times, I cannot find words in which to describe a situation which was tragic in the extreme. Here was a Chief Secretary, unusually gifted, a man whom all must honour for his wonderful powers. As Under-Secretary there was a man of immense ability, desiring only to serve his country and especially Ireland, of which he was himself a native. A wonderful combination. But misfortune dogged their footsteps, and the controversy which led to the resignation of Mr. Wyndham paralysed to a great extent Sir Anthony's power to serve his country.

I have referred briefly to these events in Ireland because it is necessary to do so in order to explain the circumstances in which I was suddenly called upon to undertake what was then, I think, universally regarded as a most difficult Ministerial post. When Mr. Wyndham resigned Mr. Balfour sent for me and told me that in the circumstances he would not *ask* me to go to Ireland, but he felt it his duty to say that if I accepted the office of Chief Secretary I should be rendering some service to him and to the country. I was naturally reluctant, not only for the reasons which I have already given in reference to the office which I then held. I had already refused a high office which I had always specially desired to fill, and mainly, I doubted my capacity to deal satisfactorily with the very difficult and onerous situation which had arisen in Ireland. Two or three other names were mentioned between the Prime Minister and myself,

and he was good enough to authorize me further to discuss the matter with some leading Irishmen, with the result that I placed my services unreservedly at his disposal, and in due course I was appointed to the office.

I am not ever likely to forget the emotions which I experienced when I visited Ireland to be formally appointed. I knew that the Nationalist Party were bitterly disappointed at the change which had taken place, and that I should be confronted with many grave problems, which would require all the courage and resource I could command. However, I made up my mind that I would do my best to administer the government with justice and impartiality to all creeds and classes, first bearing in mind my duty to my Sovereign and my country, and secondly, the fact that I must endeavour to govern in accordance with the fundamental principles and accepted policy of the Unionist Party.

I received the greatest kindness and assurances of support from my Irish colleagues, and from some of the leading Parliamentary representatives, notably Colonel Saunderson, the leader of the Ulster Unionists. I was aware that our supporters had been grievously annoyed by recent events, though I was in no way prepared for the bitterness of feeling which I found in Dublin when I arrived. Many of our most loyal and devoted supporters declared that they would not cross the street to support the Unionist Government and the expression of hostility was widespread. It was impossible to allow the feeling of violent ill-will to continue unchecked. The late Duke of Abercorn, who was recognized as the titular head of the Unionists in Ireland, was fully alive to the state of things, and I expect to some extent shared the view of his fellow countrymen. He was, however, an unfailing friend in difficulty and a most loyal, considerate man. He consented to be chairman at a dinner to be

given to me as a welcome on my arrival. At first it looked as if it were going to be a frost. That prejudice and suspicion were ultimately overcome was largely due to the Duke and some of his leading colleagues. The ice was thus broken, and from that time onwards I received nothing but the most generous treatment at the hands of the Unionist Party in both North and South Ireland.

The Nationalist Party held themselves severely aloof, and fought me vigorously in Parliament, though I have no reason whatever to complain of their treatment. One of my first duties was to interview Sir Anthony MacDonnell and discuss our mutual relations. I discovered immediately that there had been misunderstandings as to the position of the Under-Secretary in the Government, for which I really believe nobody was to blame. I do not think anybody can wonder that Sir Anthony, who had filled such very high positions in the government of the Empire, both in India and in Whitehall, and had been invited to take the office of Under-Secretary, should have believed he was to be given a freer hand than was usually the case, and was to be allowed to try to develop a policy which he thought to be right for the government of Ireland and for the amelioration of the condition of the people.

However, a very short discussion enabled the position to be made quite clear, and while, of course, there remained differences of opinion between us, there appeared to be no room for doubt that we could act together in perfect harmony, and that our relations would be of the most friendly character. This forecast was justified by the result, and I can safely say Sir Anthony never failed to devote himself to his utmost to the duties which fell to him in the high post he continued to occupy. During the last few months Sir Anthony was laid low by a severe

illness, and consequently was unable to take part in the work of the Government.

I dwell on these details because it is only just to the great civil servant that the position, which has never been really understood, should be cleared up by probably the only one who can speak with first-hand knowledge of what happened.

As is often the case, the chief trouble had arisen over really minor matters, which in Ireland bulk very largely in the minds of the people, matters the importance of which other parts of the United Kingdom found it very difficult to appreciate. I will only give two instances. One was the case of a constable in the Royal Irish Constabulary, which had, no doubt, been mismanaged. He had been punished, as his friends believed, quite unjustly, and they attributed the responsibility, and therefore the blame, to Sir Anthony MacDonnell. As a matter of fact I satisfied myself that Sir Anthony had had nothing to do with the case from beginning to end and could in no way be implicated. The other case was the appointment of a dispensary doctor in one of the unions. Here a Roman Catholic had been appointed, and it was believed the appointment had been made over the head of a Protestant, who was regarded as a really better man for the post. Again the blame was thrown upon Sir Anthony, and again I found that he had no knowledge of it throughout the whole proceedings. These cases, added to the agitation on the Irish University question, led to a violent upheaval, a demand being addressed to me that I should advise the dismissal of Sir Anthony. I received no little censure at the hands of my friends because I resolutely refused to take this course. As I have said, Sir Anthony and I did not agree in many of our opinions, but could there have been a case of more wanton injustice than to have taken the serious step

indicated when I knew that there was no justification for the charges made ?

I would much prefer not to revive any of those old memories, but I cannot pass over in silence my administration in Ireland, and equally impossible is it for me to refer to it without dealing briefly (and I hope without offence) with the facts which were the main cause of the special troubles I had to face. While I think it no less my duty to do what is mere justice to a distinguished servant of the Crown, I desire to say emphatically that, owing to misunderstandings and the general state of things which had arisen in the government of Ireland—entirely due, in my opinion, to the complete breakdown in Mr. Wyndham's health—Irish Unionists, both in the north and south, had very good reason for their discontent and annoyance. They saw, as they believed, things being done in the name of the Government of which they entirely disapproved, and they thought that Unionist principles were being betrayed.

Nobody who stops to consider what are the rules under which government in our country is carried on will doubt that they were justified in making their voices heard, and demanding, as they did most emphatically, that there should be a return to the well-established policy of the Unionist Party.

It has always seemed to me that the initial mistake was made when the invitation was extended to Sir Anthony to become Under-Secretary. It was idle to expect that a man who held strong views, and who had filled such important posts, would be likely to consent to occupy a comparatively subordinate position. Again, surely a very little consideration would have made it clear that it was impossible to amalgamate the views which he held with those which had always been held by the Unionist Party. However this may be, the situation became very acute.

I had to face it, but after Sir Anthony and I had had a full discussion there never was any further trouble. I was, happily, able to secure the full reconsideration of the case of the constable; he was reinstated, and had his pay and allowances restored. This gave general satisfaction to those who had championed his cause. The question of the doctor was very soon allowed to pass into oblivion.

No more incidents of the kind occurred, and it was therefore possible to concentrate attention on the government of the country. I found immediately after my arrival that trouble was threatening in the south and west, especially in co. Galway, where what is known as "cattle driving" had begun. Turbulent spirits, assembling in crowds, throwing down walls and driving the cattle about the country, acted in this way in order to put an end to the great cattle ranches, which were regarded with much disfavour by the landless members of the population, who wished them to be broken up. Quite apart from the question whether this course was economically advisable, these lawless proceedings had to be stopped, and peace had to be restored before any question of land reform could be even considered. The effect of the passing of the Land Act had been so widespread and beneficent that Mr. Wyndham had looked forward to the time when there would be little, if any, domestic trouble in the country. The police, he believed, could be greatly reduced, and he had already commenced his reductions. The result was that the R.I.C. were rapidly becoming insufficient in numbers for the work they had to do. What was worse, for some reason which I have been quite unable to fathom, the impression had gained ground amongst the Force that it was to their interests to turn a blind eye to aggression and crime, to abandon their old activity in maintaining law and order and generally to assume a quiescent attitude. I had, therefore, two questions to face: First, how to put

down disorder in the west; secondly, to decide whether the reduction in the Force ought not to be stopped and recruiting reopened. My first step was to summon the two county inspectors for East and West Galway, and to hear at first hand of the condition of things existing in the two ridings. They were two men of totally different types. It was the practice in the R.I.C. to promote from the ranks, and also, occasionally, to introduce trained and capable officers from outside. One of these county inspectors was a typical Englishman, but a very capable and experienced police officer. The other had risen from the ranks. Both agreed that the condition of things in their respective areas was very bad, and that, unless something was done, would rapidly become worse. I pressed them to tell me what they believed to be the reason for this state of things. They were either unwilling or unable to tell me. I then asked them why it was that they, as police officers, could not deal with the situation. Here, again, they seemed to have difficulty in answering me. The meeting was held in the Chief Secretary's room at the Castle, and every precaution was taken to ensure secrecy. After the interview had lasted some time, I began to lose patience, and banging my fist upon the table, I said: "Is it the case that you have not sufficient police to enable you to do your duty and put an end to disorder? I must have an answer."

Whereupon they both admitted that this was the case, but they had not liked to say so. I then told them that they were to go back to their ridings, that they could have as many police as were required to enable them to do their work, but that it must be done or I would find somebody else to do it for me. I can picture now the look of relief that came over their faces. They said they had no more to say, but that they would undertake that peace would very shortly be restored. I am glad to say

that in a very few weeks they were able to report that all was well.

Sir Henry Robinson, in his delightful Memoirs, tells a touching story of the effect upon an old lady of the new policy in connection with the above incident. Here is another anecdote. It happened to be the duty of one of our Local Government inspectors to visit a town in the west in connection with his poor law work. It was the day of the annual fair, and when he arrived at the station he found the yard blocked by all sorts of conveyances, so that for some time his car could not move. Whilst he was waiting he overheard the following conversation:

"Good day to ye, Pat. I thought there was no business doing in these parts; phwat's happined?" To which Pat replied: "Well, now, Mike, haven't ye heerd there's a new Chief Secretary come to the Castle? Sure, whin he heerd tell there was throuble down in the west, he sends for the county inspector, and he says, says he: 'Look here, bhoys, I'll have no more of this. I'll have it all shtopped, I will,' and with that he bangs his fist on the table and in a great rage he says: 'I'll have a polis-man behind every bush, but I'll have no more of this driving of cattle.' So sure 'tis all over and the country quiet and we can go about our business like peaceable, honest men!" This conversation was reported to me at first hand immediately afterwards. It affords another proof that the great mass of the people desired nothing so much as to be allowed to go about their business without interruption, and that, however much they might denounce the English and English rule, they really welcomed firm administration.

Another case which offered some difficulty on my arrival was one of "Unlawful Assembly" in co. Galway. The rioters had been summoned before the Bench, and the case had been adjourned already more than once owing

to disagreement amongst the magistrates, with the result that a premium had been placed upon disorder. I dispatched an official of the Government to interview the chairman of the Bench. I told him to remind the chairman that I had power to have the accused tried by a special Bench of two Resident Magistrates, and that I should certainly exercise this power unless the case was dealt with without delay. The chairman immediately summoned a fresh Court and sent the case for trial! Could there be a greater commentary upon the way in which so-called justice was administered by some of the local Benches? Eventually, out of all the men charged, a certain number were actually found guilty at Galway Assizes and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The effect of this was instantaneous, and peace very soon reigned in that part of the country.

An amusing incident occurred later on, in connection with those who had been sentenced to the shorter terms of imprisonment. The time approached when they would be released, and information reached me to the effect that it was the intention of their friends and sympathizers to await their departure from gaol, and to give them a great reception with bands, banners and processions. I determined to prevent this, and accordingly dispatched a messenger from the Castle with written orders to the Governor of the gaol, authorizing him to discharge the prisoners twenty-four hours before the completion of their sentence, and to see that they were quietly and unostentatiously taken to their homes. At the same time I gave strict injunctions for the maintenance of the utmost secrecy. My order was carefully and faithfully carried out, with the result when the crowd arrived on the appointed day, nothing happened. Inquiries at the prison gates elicited the information that no one was to be discharged that day, and that the men in question had all already gone home. The

processions had to be broken up, the banners lowered, and the bands took their departure in silence!

Some of the sympathizers were very angry with me, and threatened to have the question raised in Parliament, but nothing more was heard of it. The last thing an Irishman cares for is to bring ridicule upon himself, and the Nationalist Members were clever enough to see what would be the result of an attempt to make a Parliamentary demonstration.

In different parts of the country, simultaneous attempts were made to withhold rents. When writs were issued it was my duty to see that they were duly executed, and the rent promptly paid. This was a provision of the law in regard to which I was advised that the Chief Secretary had no discretion (not that I should have exercised it even if I had been empowered). Therefore I took all the necessary steps. In one case I had to fit out what was described as "*an expedition to go overseas*," the fact being that there were some islands lying off the south-west coast where the tenants refused to pay their rents. I obtained the services of two tugs and sent out the necessary police force, with the result that the rents were promptly paid. For this I was challenged in the House of Commons at very short notice, a Nationalist Member asking me a question and giving notice, "in consequence of the unsatisfactory nature of my reply," that he would raise the question on the adjournment. When the time came in the evening I am bound to admit that both he and I were a little vague as to the exact location of the island in question. However, the debate took its usual course, the Member in question had a very bad case and I had no difficulty in defending the course I had pursued. As it happened, it was particularly inconvenient for me to be in my place in the House that evening, so in conversation afterwards I upbraided the Member and asked him why he had thought it necessary

to bring up the matter when he had such unsatisfactory grounds upon which to base it. He replied, with a laugh: "Oh! don't you know, Chief Secretary, that there was a motion on the paper to-night authorizing interference with our convents? I wasn't going to allow that to come on, and as I had received a telegram from Ireland about the expedition, I thought it would be a good way of taking up the evening."

The English have never understood the Irish, and this has been one of the main causes of the failure to govern the country satisfactorily. Here is a case which actually occurred within my knowledge which must seem strange to those not familiar with Irish conditions.

As a result of my policy to insist upon the payment of rents, an incident occurred in a town towards the north which serves to show the effect of firm, determined government.

A friend of mine who was a large land-agent went into the county town to hold his half-yearly collections. He and his clerk waited a long time in a room in the hotel without the appearance of a single one of the tenants. After an hour or so had passed he told his clerk to go out into the market place, which was thronged with farmers, to ascertain whether they were coming in to pay their rents, as, if not, he would pack up the books and go. The clerk duly returned with the report that the farmers had told him: "Divil a penny would they pay. They hadn't got the rent." My friend accordingly told his clerk to pack up while he went across the street to do some business with the local solicitor, who also happened to be the Crown attorney. Whilst my friend was talking to him, the clerk came in and said: "You'd better come across, sir; they are all coming in and are waiting for you." He accordingly returned to the hotel, sat on till late in the evening, and had the satisfaction of collecting every penny that was due. He knew

most of the farmers well, and therefore asked them what had produced this sudden change. The reply came without any hesitation or trace of shame: "Sure, didn't we see ye go across to Mr. Blank's office. Isn't he one of Long's officers, and don't we know that if we don't pay he'll be afther making us, so we decided to come in to ye at once!"

Yet I am convinced that if the Government of Ireland had hesitated in performing what was, after all, only their plain duty, the tenants would have persisted in their refusal, and, what is more, they would have found many sympathizers on this side of the Channel, even among those who, being small owners themselves, expect every penny and to be paid punctually or else threaten their debtors with eviction.

My next most pressing task was to satisfy myself whether the reduced Police Force would be sufficient to maintain law and order in the event of agrarian or other social trouble breaking out. The numbers of the R.I.C. had stood at about 12,000, and the estimate of the Government was that this number could safely be reduced to 7,500, which figure would shortly be reached if no fresh recruits were taken. The reduction had been based on what seemed a rather optimistic assumption that the Land Act would work a complete revolution in the country and put an end to all lawlessness and disturbance. I felt that this was a very rosy view to take. It was my business to form as accurate an estimate as I could of the immediate prospects and the power of the Government to deal with any trouble should it occur. I therefore asked Lord Grenfell, the C.-in-C., if he would be good enough to attend a meeting at which his staff and representatives of the Government and of the R.I.C. should be present. We met and went into everything fully, and we came to the conclusion that the proper and safe course would be to open recruiting for the R.I.C. and raise the numbers to 10,000. This step was

accordingly taken forthwith. It at once restored the confidence of the police. It gave a general measure of security to the people, as it afforded a proof of the determination of the Government to maintain order and to have a sufficient force at their command for the purpose.

As I have already said, I found the police were in an apprehensive condition, the cause of which I was quite unable to discover. The R.I.C. was a magnificent Force. Discussing it with the late Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, he told me that he thought it to be one of the finest, if not *the* finest, Force of its kind in the world. Recruited almost entirely from among the small farmer class, and, with the exception of a small number of officers, entirely from among Irishmen, it had always been absolutely loyal, thoroughly reliable and efficient. It was entirely under the command of the Irish Government, who could move men about the country just as they were required. No doubt this fact, and also the training given, to some extent justified the criticism that the Force was more military than civil in its character, but this did not apply to the ordinary discharge of its duties. Its members were not only most efficient policemen, but, in addition, notwithstanding the clamour raised against them occasionally, which was entirely political, they were universally recognized by the country people as their best friends. It has often been said, and I believe with absolute truth, that the policemen were looked upon as the "guides, philosophers and friends" of the country folk. They were appealed to for advice in the management of ordinary affairs, help in difficulty and sympathy in trouble, and never was the appeal made in vain. They commanded, rightly and justly, the confidence and admiration of everybody in Ireland, with the exception of those who for political reasons thought fit to criticize and attack them.

I think it is true that they were a very sensitive body,

living in conditions of considerable difficulty and very much given to looking to the Government in order to ascertain what the feeling of the moment was in regard to the discharge of their duties. Small incidents affected them materially, and they had at that time, whether rightly or wrongly, come to the conclusion that at Headquarters they were not in favour, and that it would be better for them in their own interests to be cautious and not unduly active in the discharge of their duties. I really do not believe, and I went into this matter very carefully and closely, that there was any foundation for their anxieties. They existed, and it was my duty to allay them. I had to tread very warily, because there was one serious difficulty which it was necessary to avoid. There are, of course, black sheep in every flock. There had been cases in which it was believed that some constables had acted improperly and had trumped up serious charges. The enemies of the Government and of the police, of course, made the most of these cases, and in my efforts to restore confidence it was essential that I should do nothing which would be likely to encourage conduct of this kind in future. I made it my business to inspect the constables at the depot in Phœnix Park at certain intervals. When I was travelling about the country, I interviewed the officers and head constables and discussed with them the state of their neighbourhood. I did my best to make myself familiar with local conditions and to ascertain at first hand what were the relations between the people and the police. I believe Sir Henry Robinson is in no way indulging in exaggeration when he says that in a very short time the R.I.C. were prepared to carry out their duties and maintain order and peace in the country, and obey loyally and faithfully any orders they might receive from the Government of which I was the representative. It was very soon possible to say that the country was quite quiet.

People were going about their business in a peaceable manner, and the police were assured that so long as they did their duty and maintained their high reputation they would receive the support and approval of those under whom they were called to work.

It may be worth while to say here a word or two about the constitution of the R.I.C. The numbers were fixed, as I have said, at so many thousand, and of these a certain number were allotted to each county or riding of a county; this was called the "quota." The Force was paid for mainly out of the taxes, and each separate area was entitled to the services of the "quota" free of any extra charge. But if a district became specially troublesome and extra police, exceeding the "quota," had to be drafted there, the cost of the additional men fell solely upon the locality. This was an extremely valuable provision, as the ratepayers knew that if trouble arose and the "quota" was not sufficient to deal with it they would have to pay for the extra men required. True it was that the innocent suffered with the guilty, but this it was impossible to avoid, and experience showed that the power to levy the cost upon the county provided a very useful check upon the law-breakers.

It was a great privilege to me to be in command of this magnificent Force and to be responsible for them. I, for one, profoundly regret, not only that they have been disbanded, but that, when the time came to dispense with their services, there was not a more generous recognition of their claim upon the country. From the earliest days of their existence they have been called upon to play a very difficult part. Coming of local stock, often having their relations in the same neighbourhood in which they happened to be serving, in some cases stationed in small numbers a long distance from the headquarters, they had always to maintain a very high standard of

conduct, whether on or off duty. While in times of lawlessness and riot their lives were frequently in danger, they never hesitated between what was right and difficult on the one hand, or what was wrong and easy on the other, and they were exemplary in their private lives. It is sad to think that many of them are exiled from their native land because they did their duty, and feel that they have a grievance against England because of the manner in which their services were dispensed with.

The only weak spot in the Land Act was finance. Nobody, not even Mr. Wyndham, had realized how popular the measure would be and how rapid would be the applications for sale. The Estate Commissioners who were charged with the carrying out of the Act were overburdened with work, and what was worse, the supply of money in the Exchequer was not sufficient, in the current year, to enable the payments to be made. I felt sure that this difficulty would increase rather than decrease. I endeavoured to secure the acceptance of an arrangement by which the owner would be paid partly in stock and partly in cash. The landowners did not appreciate the gravity of the situation. They thought my fears were without foundation. They believed that England could find the money, and would find it if the need became urgent. Alas! Since then land purchase has halted in its progress and has yet to be completed. Nevertheless, that great Act will ever remain as a proof of the statesmanship and outstanding ability of one of the most brilliant men ever responsible for the government of Ireland.

What makes the termination of Mr. Wyndham's career as Chief Secretary doubly tragic is that, after passing the Land Act, he could, had he wished, have become Secretary of State for War. He talked the matter over with me, and I advised him to accept the offer. I told him he had done magnificent work; there was no cloud on his horizon;

he could, with perfect propriety, leave to others the easier task of carrying out the Act he had placed upon the Statute Book, and he could leave Ireland with pride and satisfaction. However, he felt that he ought to continue the work himself. There were still some difficulties to be overcome. So he refused the tempting offer, and then came the physical breakdown which was the cause of all that followed.

During my time in Ireland it was considered necessary to keep me under close police supervision. This was extremely tiresome, as I frequently got into trouble with the head of the police when I inadvertently gave my guards the slip. Much as I disliked being followed about, I fully realized the responsibility which rested on the police, and that it was only fair for me to do what I could to aid them. At the same time it was impossible to avoid accidents, and I am afraid I gave a great deal of trouble at headquarters for which I am now duly repentant. Personally I never believed I was in the slightest danger. I only knew of one case when the detectives thought it necessary to arrest an individual. This was when we were staying at Humewood, our old home in co. Wicklow, which had been kindly lent to us for a few weeks by the present owner, Willie Hume. We were expecting my daughter and her husband, who were motoring from King's County. They were very late in arriving, and as motor-cars were very different in those days from what they are to-day, I became anxious, fearing that some accident had happened. It was a still, quiet night and, listening near one of the windows, I thought I heard the horn in the park. Forgetting for the moment that there were two or three gates to be opened which would cause a slight delay, I forthwith went downstairs and out of the front door on to the gravel, which was surrounded on two sides by thick banks of laurels. As I

stood there listening for the car with my back to the house, I suddenly felt a hand on each of my shoulders, and, looking round, I found two of my protectors. They were recent arrivals from Dublin and had reason to believe that there were some troublesome characters in the neighbourhood. In their excess of zeal they collared me, and did not for a few minutes discover their mistake!

The chief of the Criminal Department at that time was Sir Patrick Coll, a splendid, old-fashioned civil servant. He was one of the most resourceful men I ever knew, and in any circumstances, however difficult, I should never have hesitated to place reliance on his judgment and advice. He was an Irishman, of strong Nationalist sympathies, and he had many friends among the leaders of the Nationalist Party. He was cool and determined in the discharge of his duties, and a convinced believer in impartial administration of the law. We had a quite admirable Secret Service at that time, which was unhappily afterwards abandoned. On one occasion Sir Patrick came to me and said that he had received an intimation that five men were coming across the Atlantic charged with the special duty of "removing" me, and he asked me what I would like done. Two courses he suggested as being possible: one to arrest them on arrival and to make our case; the other to let them pursue the even tenour of their way, and thereby learn something of the existing condition of things in regard to secret crime. I decided in favour of the latter, much to his satisfaction, as he said it would probably help him to obtain some very valuable information. It speaks well for the Secret Service system that the men remained in Ireland some six or seven weeks; their movements were known from day to day by the police, and only once did one of them succeed in eluding us for a period of twenty-four hours. At the end of this time we decided to tell them to go back

whence they came. Of course it was not certain that they would do so, in which case we should have had to resort to other methods, but they took the hint.

I formed the opinion that there was no room for their activities in Ireland at that time. I believe the people would have nothing to do with them or their methods.

There were many difficult and anxious problems to be solved, and there was the daily administration of the law, which frequently imposed very disagreeable obligations on me. At the same time, the life as Chief Secretary was most attractive. Responsibility and power rested in the Minister's hands. He was in close touch with all that was going on in the country. Apart from the government the life was delightful in the extreme. Everybody vied with one another in showing one hospitality of all kinds. There was plenty of excellent sport to be obtained on one's spare days, and I look back upon it all with unqualified pleasure and gratitude. I used to get an occasional day's hunting with the Meath Hounds under that famous sportsman, John Watson. On hunting days it was necessary for me to start fairly early, and I had my secretaries with the bags and letters which I went through. I gave the requisite instructions, and left the various papers and reports to be prepared, ready for signature on my return home in the evening.

A curious incident occurred once when we were all engaged in opening letters. I came across a long, thick envelope addressed to me and marked, "*Strictly confidential.*" I opened it to find inside another envelope addressed in the same way. I opened that and found yet a third. In addition to the address on the last envelope were the following words: "*I suppose enclosed is a practical joke, if so it is a very bad one.*" I opened the last cover, and found within one of my silver spoons and a

letter from a very distinguished Irishman who had dined at the Chief Secretary's Lodge the night before, stating that he found the spoon in the tail pocket of his dress coat, and he supposed it had been put there by one of my staff! He expressed himself in very strong terms as to the insult which had been offered to him. He had dined with us *en famille*, as I had been anxious to consult him about a pressing question of public policy and to secure his help in a particular direction. He was a very good talker, possessing a wonderful fund of knowledge. It was most difficult to discover how this untoward incident had occurred. I told my chief private secretary to go to Dublin and see the gentleman, taking a note from me saying we were quite as puzzled as he was, and that we were quite unable to throw any light upon the matter. When I returned in the evening from hunting, I was informed that matters were even worse than they first appeared. Our guest had returned from dining with us to the Kildare Street Club. There, standing on the hearthrug, he proceeded to tell the other members what had been the advice he had given me, and added that if I followed it I should have no difficulty in solving the particular problem. Simultaneously with making this statement he pulled out his handkerchief, and with it out came the spoon! This, of course, provoked much chaff from his friends and naturally made him extremely angry, hence the letter which I had received. How the spoon got into his pocket I have no idea to this day.

One of the essential duties of a Chief Secretary in those days was to tour about the country, inspect local works, roads, harbours, piers, railways, either in existence or in course of construction, and listen to demands for assistance of all kinds. It was a somewhat difficult task, but the tours were of the most delightful description. Motor-cars in those days were in their infancy, but they had already

largely displaced horse-cars. I was particularly fortunate, because Sir Henry Robinson, Vice-President of the Local Government Board, was an expert motorist, who possessed a very excellent car which was known as " The Fast Lady." He was good enough to take me on several occasions on visits of inspection. I enjoyed all these expeditions immensely. He was really a perfect companion, an expert driver, knew every inch of the country, every place of interest that we passed, all the leading people, and a thorough Irishman, with an inexhaustible fund of anecdote and a very remarkable knowledge of his country, its people, their needs, peculiarities, their virtues and vices.

Sir Henry was, in my judgment, one of the ablest of the many distinguished men who have from time to time served in the civil service. He came from the landlord classes, and there never was any doubt as to his opinion in regard to the question which divided Ireland over the maintenance of the Union. He was a scrupulously just, but strong and firm administrator, and frequently, as virtual head of the Local Government Board, he came into violent contact with representative bodies of different parts of Ireland. I am sure it is true that, not only did he enjoy the respect of his fellow countrymen, but, further than this, he was an extremely popular man. Personally, I have always regretted that he was not appointed Under-Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. I am inclined to the view that the head of the Local Government Board has at least as much power as any other permanent official in the government. Nevertheless, the post of Under-Secretary is the chief office in the permanent branch of government. It is the natural ambition of every Irish civil servant, and Sir Henry's long, distinguished and loyal service to his Sovereign and country certainly justified his appointment to the highest official position.

On one of the first tours on which he took me we travelled

to a town in the west, whence we had to motor to several places in the neighbourhood. It was my first experience of that part of Ireland, motor-cars were quite unknown, the country was very sparsely populated, and the people most unsophisticated. We had not left the station many miles behind us when we overtook a farmer driving one of the two-wheeled country carts, consisting of slabs laid upon some cross-boards. It was drawn by a typical Irish horse, showing a lot of quality and looking as if he might give a very good account of himself in an English hunting country. In the cart were various agricultural implements. After we got past I heard the most tremendous clatter and shouting, and looking round I saw that the horse had bolted and was rapidly approaching us. We, of course, pulled on one side, and stopped to see if we could be of any assistance. Before the cart reached us, all the implements and the boards of the cart had tumbled into the road. The horse shook himself clear of the harness, such as it was, jumped out of the road and proceeded to career over the adjoining fields. As if by magic men, women, children appeared suddenly from all over the place, and proceeded to chase the horse. I was very much alarmed that the unfortunate accident would bring down the reverse of blessings on the new Chief Secretary's head. I went back to the man and said how sorry I was at what had happened. He stood in the road watching the neighbours hunting the horse, and his only remark was : "Well, now, isn't that a foine hunt entoirely?" After expressing my regret at causing him so much inconvenience, I offered him a modest present to atone for his trouble. He looked at it in ecstasy and said : "Begorro! I wish this'd happen ivery day!"

During my short term of office I made many of these tours of inspection, and settled several outstanding questions which had caused a great deal of anxiety in the various

localities. I think that under the old system of government it was not possible to exaggerate the value of meetings between representatives of the Irish Government and the people themselves. I can only say for my own part they were most interesting, most helpful, and even in the most disturbed districts I never received anything but the utmost civility, and the old-fashioned courtesy for which Irish people are so famous. I have in mind many interviews with people of all classes, notably one with a Roman Catholic priest who was supposed to be a great enemy of the Government. However, he received me with generous hospitality and with complete frankness. While, of course, we disagreed upon many vital questions, we were able to discuss the conditions of Ireland and many proposals for the material advancement of the country in the most friendly, impartial and business-like manner.

I have gladly paid my tribute to the R.I.C., but I must admit that I do not think their training equipped them for the duties of a detective force. I well remember one occasion when I was accompanied by them in one of my early tours. I was travelling with Sir Henry Robinson in his car, and I observed that we were accompanied by a considerable party of men in plain clothes, on bicycles. I casually asked who they were, and I was told they were Irish tourists travelling in the same direction as we were. Presently we came to a turning leading down to a very interesting old building. Sir Henry suggested I should go and see it. The way led down a narrow, winding lane, and two or three of the tourists accompanied us. When we had completed our inspection of the building and returned to the high road, we found the rest of the party were reclining against the bank with their bicycles beside them. As soon as we appeared on the scene two or three of them at once jumped up and sprang to attention. This, of course, gave the whole show away, and I realized that

they were police in attendance upon me, and that the number of them was due to the fact that we were in a district where the people had some special temporary reason to regard the Chief Secretary with disfavour.

The railway companies had recently sought to develop the great attractions of the west of Ireland by improving the railway service and by building some excellent hotels. I believe that people who want a holiday where they would get beautiful scenery and have a most enjoyable time, cannot do better than go to the west of Ireland for the purpose. A good story was told me about one of these hotels. An elderly spinster lady had been deputed by one of the London newspapers to travel through the country and report upon its suitability for holiday tours. Accordingly she set out and proceeded to travel from place to place, partly by train and partly by bicycle. It was very hot weather and the roads were very dusty, so that frequently she suffered a good deal of discomfort and was in a most uncomfortable condition when she reached the end of her journey. She arrived at an hotel of very imposing appearance and asked if she could have tea, but that first of all she would like to have a bath; could she have one? To which reply was given by the manageress: "Indeed you can, ma'am, you can have any bath you like; we've sitting baths, lying baths and shower baths." So the lady determined to have a long bath, followed by a shower. For the latter she was instructed to "pull the shtring, and if the wather didn't come, to pull a second, and a third time very hard." Having completed her ablutions in the long bath, she pulled the "shtring" in accordance with instructions. Nothing happened, so she pulled again. Still no result! After repeating the effort several times, she was startled by hearing a voice from above, saying in somewhat hoarse tones: "I beg yer parrdon, ma'am, but if ye stood a little more to the westward, I'd hit ye

better!" She looked up and found to her horror and amazement that the "boots" was ensconced above her, with a can of water, ready to pour over her when she was ready, and when he was sure he could hit her! However, this is a tale of long ago; since then things have developed and improved, and I can answer for it that even in my time—eighteen years ago—the hotels were extremely comfortable and very moderate in their charges.

One of my party made some notes on a tour we made in September, and I append them because they give a very accurate account and a most amusing record of our experiences.*

I was fortunate, very, in all my colleagues, and in all those who served me in the Irish Government. I think that I had especial reason for congratulation in the fact that Mr. John Atkinson remained in the office of Attorney-General. He had steadfastly refused promotion because he had been pressed by the Government to continue to serve as a Law Officer in a time of exceptional difficulty. To me he was the most loyal friend and the wisest of counsellors. In affairs of state he never failed me, and in private life he was the cheeriest of friends. I am happy to think that I still enjoy his close personal friendship. By a rare piece of good fortune a vacancy occurred among the Lords of Appeal, and the Prime Minister was good enough to confer the appointment upon him.

My chief private secretary, Mr., now Sir John, Taylor had a wide knowledge of affairs and served me well, as indeed, did my other private secretaries, of whom I had three. Two of them, alas! gave their lives in the War, Gerald Arbuthnot and Harry Monteith. The third, Frank Siltzer, although past age, served throughout in the trenches and elsewhere as a subaltern in the Guards, and finally obtained his captaincy.

* Appendix.

Self and Secretaries in Chief Secretary's Room, Dublin Castle (Gerald Arbuthnot and H. Monteith, killed in the Great War).

[*To face p.* 168.

A curious fact came to my knowledge toward the end of my time in Ireland. It was that all four of my private secretaries were members of the Roman Catholic Church. I suppose I must have known it from the beginning, but I had never given the matter a thought. It is interesting to reflect, in connection with a country where religious opinions play so prominent a part, that never had the difference in religion obtruded itself on my notice, for certainly no body of men could have served their chief better than they all did me.

I left Irish official life with profound regret, and I look back upon it all with feelings of unqualified happiness and gratitude.

However, the Prime Minister had decided to place his resignation in the hands of His Majesty, and that of course put an end to my official connection with Ireland.

In due course the Ministers were summoned to attend at Buckingham Palace in order to surrender the seals of office, and His late Majesty King Edward VII. was graciously pleased to receive us in audience.

I can never forget the wonderful generosity and kindness with which His Majesty bade me farewell in my capacity as Chief Secretary for Ireland. He spoke in the warmest terms of the way in which I had, at all events, striven to do my duty, and he was immensely gratified to learn that Ireland was enjoying an almost unprecedented period of peace and prosperity. That this was so is proved by the oft-quoted remark of an incoming Liberal Minister to the effect that Ireland was more peaceful, more contented, and more free from internal trouble than she had been for six hundred years.

The anecdote I desire to tell affords, among many, another proof of the untiring desire of His late Majesty to serve his people. Before dismissing me he said that he had a request to make which he hoped I would be able to

grant. I need hardly say that I replied I felt certain that His Majesty had only to make a request for me to be prepared to carry out his wishes. However, he pointed out that he felt he was asking me to do something quite out of the common. He said: "I know, when Governments change, the out-going Ministers do not treat their successors in the same way as they would if it was a mere change of office under the same Government and they were to be followed by Members of their own Party. This is, of course, natural and, as a rule, no doubt right, but the case of Ireland is an exceptional one, and I want you to go and see Mr. Bryce, your successor, tell him quite frankly and freely what are your views of the difficulties connected with the Government of Ireland apart from the question of Home Rule, what you believe to be the most essential details of administration, and in other words, give him the benefit of your knowledge and experience just as you would if you were being followed by some political friend of your own."

Of course, I at once told His Majesty that if Mr. Bryce cared to receive me, I would only be too glad to carry out His Majesty's wishes. The path was accordingly prepared for the interview, and I had two long mornings with Mr. Bryce, during which I endeavoured to put everything before him, without, of course, trespassing in any way upon party political ground.

One question which I pressed upon his notice I desire to refer to here. There was an Arms Act in force which prevented the carrying of arms except under licence obtainable through the police. This was quite distinct from the ordinary licence to kill game. It was quite true that this Act of Parliament was often evaded; that sometimes it was possible to introduce arms into Ireland quite openly without having any licence, and as it did not apply to England it was contended by the Nationalist

Party that it was an insult to Ireland. The assertion was also made by the same people that, as the law was evaded, it served no useful purpose and therefore ought to be dropped. I held a totally contrary opinion. I had satisfied myself that, although the statement had some foundation, on the whole the Act operated extremely well. It gave the police very useful and valuable powers which enabled them to prevent men whose characters would not bear investigation from obtaining licences and who would in all probability use their weapons for illegitimate purposes.

To a very great extent it afforded the authorities accurate and reliable information where arms were to be found. As a matter of fact, those who did not ask for a licence were, as a rule, quiet, peaceable people who were never likely to make improper use of their guns, and did not attempt to conceal the fact that they possessed them.

When a short time afterwards the Act was dropped—it was renewed every year under the Expiring Laws Continuance Act, so there was no necessity to repeal it, it was merely dropped out of the Schedule—a great deal of trouble connected with the indiscriminate possession and use of arms, which led later to such terrible consequences, arose. It was due to the abandonment of this most useful law. So strongly did I feel about it at the time (and I have not changed my views) that I would far rather have passed a permanent law, framed on the same lines and applicable to the whole of the United Kingdom, than allow the case against the Arms Act to be strengthened by the fact that it only applied to Ireland.

The Irish Unionists had their own organization in Ulster and in the south, and they had a joint Parliamentary Party in the House of Commons which was led by Colonel Saunderson, a great Irishman. His power and influence in Ireland was tremendous, and it may in truth

be said that he gave his whole life to the service of his country. He unfortunately died just after the General Election of 1906, and the Irish Unionists in the House of Commons did me the honour to nominate me, then, of course, in opposition, as his successor.

I felt I was quite unworthy to take his place, but I did my best and received the most cordial support from all my Irish Unionist colleagues and the Party, both in the north and south of Ireland. One object I set myself to accomplish was to bring about closer co-operation, if not complete union, between the Unionist Parties in the north and south. I was successful in establishing a joint committee in Ireland, which at all events secured closer working, and therefore, I think, increased the influence they exercised upon Irish affairs and politics in general.

Colonel Saunderson was really a most remarkable man. Many others have written of his life, but I will only say that he was one of the most attractive personalities with whom I ever came in contact. He possessed many accomplishments and loved his country with passionate devotion. He was a great sportsman and an expert yachtsman, and he used to build his own yachts at Castle Saunderson. On one occasion during my tenure of office as Chief Secretary I had to visit him, as I wanted his advice. Sir Henry Robinson motored me up to co. Cavan, and when we got there I was told that the Colonel could not see me for a few minutes as he was engaged in a most complicated and intricate calculation in connection with a boat he was engaged in building. When I was admitted, I found him with his faithful old carpenter and friend, Bob, still engaged in discussing technical conundrums connected with the boat.

He had a wonderful wit, of which hundreds of illustrations could be given. I only mention one, which occurred

in my hearing in the House of Commons. On the occasion the Nationalist Party were making an appeal to the Irish Unionists to unite with them as one Party, or at all events to agree to support the dominating policy—Home Rule. One of them was making a very eloquent speech and he appealed to Colonel Saunderson, saying he could assure the right honourable and gallant gentleman that if he would only become one of them the success of their cause would be assured, and they would elevate him to the highest position in the land. The Colonel instantaneously said, in an aside which could be heard in most parts of the House : " Yes, I know you would—at the end of a rope ! "

His death came very quietly but happily, while he was still in full enjoyment of all his great powers and faculties. I shall never forget his funeral. I had the privilege to be one of the pall-bearers. There was an enormous gathering at Castle Saunderson. People came in crowds from all over Ireland. I remember that prominent members of the Roman Catholic Church were almost as numerous as those of his own faith. People of all classes thronged the grounds round the Castle and the little church where he always worshipped and where he was laid to rest, in the same spot where he had many a time discussed matters after the service with his friends and neighbours. It had been a dull showery morning. The coffin was covered with the Union Jack. As we stood there listening to the solemn Burial Service, suddenly the sun shone out and its rays lit up the coffin from head to foot as it was actually being lowered into the grave, and its glory seemed to follow the coffin till it passed from sight. The only tributes placed on the coffin were Mrs. Saunderson's beautiful cross and a small wreath of lichen made by old Bob. It was the Colonel's practice when he had finished a boat to try her himself. The supreme test was to sail her so close to an old tree on the

side of an island in the lough as to enable him to touch it. It was from this tree that old Bob had gathered the lichen with which to make the wreath, having made a special expedition for the purpose ; a touching example of devotion which the Colonel would have loved.

Colonel Saunderson set a brave example to his fellow countrymen. However great the difficulties or long the odds, he never lost heart. He did more than any other man to strengthen and cement in Ulster the love for and belief in Empire and Union which has enabled that prosperous province to make, already, such splendid use of her powers of self-government.

CHAPTER XI

UNIONISM'S DARK DAYS

THE result of the General Election of 1906 had been to leave our Party in a hopeless minority. We came back only 157 strong, and the Liberal Party, under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, having a clear majority over all the other Parties, were in a position to do exactly as they liked. Looking back, I marvel they did not succeed in accomplishing more than they did; however, that is not a matter for me to discuss. Though the general history of those days has been recorded, and is well known to all who are interested in political events, some of the immediate consequences to our Party will bear a brief reference.

We had suffered a great misfortune in the loss of our Leader, Mr. Balfour, who had been beaten at Manchester and did not immediately look for a fresh seat. I, too, had suffered defeat—at South Bristol; but in the same election I was returned for South County Dublin. Mr. Balfour's absence required steps to be taken to secure a temporary Leader for the Opposition in the House of Commons. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was the natural alternative. There was nobody who could compare with him in the position he held in the country and in our Party. The general expectation and hope was that he would at once assume the position. However, he was very reluctant to do so, and at a conference we had at Lansdowne House to discuss what steps ought to be taken, he paid me the very high honour of inviting me to accept the

post. Though in the circumstances this was impossible, I have always remembered his action with great pride. I recollect, with admiration, his wonderful insight as to the duties of the Opposition, and the special difficulties which must beset a Leader who thought he represented a minority of the Party and was not in complete accord with the views and opinions of the majority. I can recall quite clearly the last conversation he and I had on the subject. He renewed his invitation to me to accept and asked me to allow him to nominate me. I ventured respectfully to point out that his suggestion was impracticable, that nobody would tolerate anyone except himself as a Leader, and that to appoint me would really be ridiculous. However, he went on to explain with great fullness the reasons which led him to press his proposal upon me. His view was that to lead the Opposition was entirely different from being a leading Member of the Government. When one is in office it is well understood that the Government work out their policy on a principle of "give and take." In a Unionist Government, composed of representatives of two different Parties brought together by a great national cause, it had been inevitable that from time to time there should be concessions made by both sides. Occasionally it had been necessary for the Conservatives or the Liberal Unionists to accept certain conclusions with which they were not in hearty sympathy. This must always be the case when a Government is composed of, and supported by, men who, though united in some great question, nevertheless hold different views on certain domestic matters. On the other hand, the precise policy of the Opposition must depend upon the action of the Government. As the life of a Parliament progresses it will gradually develop, but it is, of course, necessary to keep the Party thoroughly united and to give it a fighting lead. There were some questions,

such as land, education and others, upon which Mr. Joseph Chamberlain did not believe that his sentiments would be agreeable to the majority of the Conservative Party, and difficulties might arise which would hamper and weaken the position of the Opposition. For these reasons he was not prepared to accept the leadership.

I ventured to point out in reply that if such a question were to arise with myself as Leader, the result must be to cause trouble in the Party, and the fact that he would find it necessary to oppose views I held would render my position quite impossible. His look and his tone impressed me very greatly when he replied that I knew he held his opinions on certain questions very strongly indeed ; that they were not the result of conclusions hastily arrived at, but were opinions he had held from the time he entered public life, and he could not change them now. But he said I could rely upon this—that if I took the leadership, his one desire would be to help me to consolidate the Party and make it a really strong Opposition. We had been, he pointed out, temporarily swept out of existence, but we should gradually improve. We should very soon begin to win by-elections, and if I would consent to take the position until Mr. Balfour came back, he would do all he possibly could to help me. It was a wonderfully generous offer, which only a really great man could have made. However, I persisted in my refusal and ultimately he consented to act as Leader, on the understanding that he was free to absent himself whenever he desired and that in his absence I would do my best to carry on. This arrangement was maintained until, happily, Mr. Balfour was elected for the City of London and resumed his position.

The Parliament of 1906, in its early days, was the most extraordinary one in which I have sat. The rout of the late Government in the country had been complete, due, no doubt, to the fact that we had been in office for a

long time, had suffered greatly in recent years from the split in our ranks brought about by the question of fiscal reform, and had, therefore, been greatly handicapped in our appeal to the country. Speaking from my own experience in the city of Bristol, for a division of which I sat from 1900 to 1906, I have always affirmed that the main cause of the triumph of the Liberal Party was the belief entertained by the mass of the people that we really intended to re-introduce slavery within our Dominions—the proposal to bring Chinese labour into the mines in South Africa being sedulously described by that term by our opponents, some with qualifications to salve their consciences, or even quite bluntly without adjectival limitations. I am not going to enter into this forgotten controversy, except to say that the posters depicting Chinese in chains, and the processions of sandwichmen dressed to look like Chinese and chained together, made a profound impression upon the electors, and produced a feeling of something more than indignation—of real fury.

In addressing my supporters after the poll in South Bristol I said what I then felt very strongly, and feel still, that if the electors really believed, after full discussion on the platform at public meetings and a broadcast circulation of leaflets on the subject, that the Government intended to reinstate slavery, not only would they be justified in throwing that Government out by an overwhelming majority, but I hoped that they would always do so. I regretted that they believed the Unionist Party to be capable of such a policy. I marvelled that they could think it possible of a Government led by a man of Mr. Balfour's character and record, or of a Colonial Office manned by enlightened British civil servants, and having at its head a Liberal Unionist statesman of the character of Mr. Alfred Lyttelton—who had succeeded Mr. Joseph Chamberlain as Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The fact remained, however, that the statement had been frequently made, and demonstrations, such as I have described, indulged in. Members of the Unionist Government had indignantly repudiated the charge in innumerable speeches, but in vain. The charge had gone home, and the belief was firmly entertained by the electors that there was danger of the re-introduction of slavery. The people rose, almost as a man, in their steadfast determination to put a stop to anything of the kind. We were therefore called upon to face in the House of Commons a triumphant majority, overwhelming in its numbers, convinced that we had been destroyed for ever, and that it could do just what it liked. Indeed, I believe that not a few of the Liberal Members themselves honestly shared the opinion of the electors that, in an attempt to help the owners of the gold mines in Johannesburg, we had been guilty of the indescribable crime of endeavouring to bring about the resuscitation of thraldom !

I remember well the intolerance of the majority in those early days. As a good illustration of their view, I may recount what happened in a Grand Committee upon which it was my duty to serve as a Member of the Opposition. The Bill referred to was one to amend the law in regard to agricultural improvements. We had, of course, a very small number on the Committee, only proportionate to our numbers in the House of Commons. The Bill contained some provisions which my Party thought crude and unworkable, and were determined to alter. At the very commencement of the discussion a Member of the Liberal majority rose in his place and said that he did not understand what all the discussion was about. He and his friends had not come to listen to honourable gentlemen stating their opinions. They had their chance at the election and were hopelessly defeated. He was not now going to be delayed in passing reforms which he thought

necessary in the interests of the country. He was not an agriculturist, but he had come to pass that Bill, not to discuss it. He demanded that it should be proceeded with without regard to the views of the Opposition, and sent back to the House of Commons. A fairly remarkable illustration, I think, of the feeling of intolerance which existed at the time! It fell to my lot, on behalf of the Unionist Members of the Committee, to make it clear that the views which had been expressed were wholly inconsistent with the practice of Parliament and, if maintained, would strike at the very root of Parliamentary action. Therefore, I assured the Honourable Member and his friends that we had no intention of being sat upon. Though we were few in number, we were determined to present our case, and the best thing they could do if they wanted to pass a Bill of this kind was to listen to us, to meet us with argument and defeat us if they could, but that they would find it impossible to silence us. As a matter of fact, before the Bill left the Committee, it had been altered from beginning to end, and when it was finally returned to the House of Commons it differed materially from the Bill which the enthusiastic non-agricultural Member desired to carry without discussion or amendment!

However, there are pleasurable recollections connected with those days. Not very long afterwards, within, I think, less than two years, the gentleman in question, who had become a very useful Member of the House of Commons, came to me in the Lobby one day and asked me if I remembered the incident and the severe rebuke which I administered to him. I replied that I did perfectly. I wondered what was going to follow. To my surprise and gratification he told me that my remarks in the Committee had led him to think very seriously over the situation; he said he was new to Parliament, and that his view of the Parliamentary situation was an entirely mistaken one. He ad-

mitted that our action on that occasion had been thoroughly justified, well conceived and efficiently carried out, and though he could not speak as a practical agriculturist, he believed that the Bill had been immensely improved by the alterations. He went on to say that the matter had not ended with that particular Bill. Although at the time he had very strongly resented our action, his experience in the Committee had led him to take a very different view of his duty and position in the House of Commons. He wound up with the very generous remark: "I owe you, Mr. Long, a very great debt of gratitude for helping me to realize what is the true position of a Member of the House of Commons." He and I, though always remaining in opposite camps, became very firm friends, and have remained so to this day.

The intolerance and the bullying attitude of the majority very soon altered, and before Mr. Balfour returned we had secured a hearing and had made them understand that they would have to reckon with us. Mr. Chamberlain had been unable to attend regularly, and in his absence it was impossible for the Opposition to act with the strength and determination which are only acquired under the inspiration of its Leader. I shall never forget the relief and comfort with which we welcomed the return of Mr. Balfour. His reappearance in the House was remarkable for the effect it produced upon the still somewhat intolerant majority. They tried to shout him down, but they did not know their man. He had not been there many days before he began to exert upon them the same wonderful influence that he had exercised over the House all those years during which he was its most distinguished Member.

In 1909 I had a rather serious breakdown in health and was ordered abroad. I decided to go to South Africa—a country I had always very much wished to see—as the doctor had told me the climate would do me a great deal

of good. I spent some four months there and had a most wonderful time, to which I have referred elsewhere.

Two great political events occurred whilst I was away: first, the movement for building extra battleships, which proved of such momentous importance to us in the War of 1914; the other, the introduction of Mr. Lloyd George's Budget with, among other plans, its proposals for the valuation and taxation of land.

In regard to the first I should like to record a fact which serves to illustrate the very lofty view which Mr. Balfour always took of the duties of the Opposition. In 1908, some of his colleagues, myself amongst them, had become very anxious about the position of the Navy. We thought the Government were not paying sufficient attention to the growth of German naval armaments, and that our Navy was being allowed to fall dangerously behind. We accordingly asked leave to present our views to him, and we begged him to take action and challenge the attitude of the Government. He very carefully examined all our allegations and figures, and he postponed his decision, I think for two or three weeks. Finally he decided that the time had not come for us to take action. He had estimated all the risks exactly. He had weighed the position thoroughly in all its details, and he decided that if we were to move it would give currency to the charge that we were making the Navy a party question. That he was right no man can doubt, and that he acted when the time came shows that he was watching the situation most closely. He only moved when any suggestion of party trouble was impossible and when, as we now know, the Government really welcomed the support they derived from the action of the Opposition.

It has always seemed to me that this was one of the most illuminating instances of the value of a capable, patriotic Opposition. Strong we were not in the sense of

numbers, but that we were patriotic is, I think, proved by Mr. Balfour's action in 1908. It was apparent at that moment that there were divided opinions in Government circles as to the need for new ships, and it is clear that the action of the Opposition strengthened the Government and gave them the opportunity if they were to take the right course.

With regard to the Budget of 1909, full as it was of controversial subjects and leading as it did to drastic action by the House of Lords, I rejoice to know that this year of 1923 has witnessed the removal of the last fragment of the absurd and iniquitous land taxes, which have cost the country a great deal of money and brought in no appreciable revenue.

It is worth while mentioning some views expressed to me in South Africa when the report of the Budget came through. A distinguished South African statesman of strong Liberal tendencies, who was a convinced free trader, told me on one occasion that he was utterly amazed at the policy of England in regard to land. Land, he said, was quite as important in England as it was in South Africa. It was the mainstay of the country. It provided the necessities of life and the men upon whom the country chiefly depended for the defence of its territories. It was the Dutch farmer, the Boer, that gave them the force that offered us such tremendous resistance, which cost us so much bloodshed and money, and England could never prosper unless the land and the people who lived on it were encouraged. Of course the people in the towns, he continued, did their share, and did it well, but without the land and the people who cultivated it, the townsmen were lost, and then what came of the country? The land taxes, he said, were absurd, and something more, they were a positive menace to the country.

I have often wondered why English people do not realize

the truth of this far-seeing statement. Cobbett, in his "Rural Rides," foretold the trouble which would come to England in consequence of the growth of the "Wens." It is true that, through the extension of manufactures in Great Britain and the growth of the big towns, the life of the urban population has become the predominant factor in our domestic affairs, but surely it ought to be apparent to everybody that it is essential to encourage the development of the land, the highest form of cultivation, and the production of the greatest amount of food-stuffs and produce of all kinds. It must be advantageous to the town population to have as much as possible of their food provided at home and by the British Empire. There is, however, a desire in some quarters still to impose land taxes. It is evident that the present form of land taxation is rapidly destroying the landed interest, which no longer means a small number of large landed proprietors, but an immense number of men and women who have become the owners of their own farms and are to-day the landed proprietors of the country.

In addition to our requirements of food and other produce we surely also need a virile, healthy population. This we are not likely to secure by a policy which taxes the owner of the land so heavily that it is difficult for him to make a living, and impossible for him to make a fortune. The question is often asked—if the facts are as is so often stated, why do people remain on the land and carry on its cultivation with so small a return for themselves? The answer is, I think, not far to seek. The country has become terribly congested; if a man parts with his occupation, when and how is he going to find another? Surely therefore he continues to cultivate the land because he realizes that if he does not he will probably be unemployed. The townsman seems to think that the land cultivator lives an easy and comfortable life; but ask anyone who is familiar

with agricultural conditions whether the picture is an accurate one. To rise at four or five o'clock, to work hard all day, to go to bed at ten, tired out in brain and body, having to face all sorts of problems, to keep accurate accounts, to read sufficiently to make oneself acquainted with political and agricultural conditions, does not seem to be a very easy existence. Yet it is the daily life of the average cultivator of the soil.

On top of this it is proposed by a certain section of the community to put extra burdens. Well might my South African friend exclaim in horror that to tax land in a country like England is to strike at the very root of its prosperity. It is a subject for congratulation that the last vestige of the land tax system has disappeared, and if any Government is found mad enough and unpatriotic enough to try to institute it again, they would have to commence at the very beginning.

It has always seemed to me that the real flaw and consequent injustice in our system of taxation is not so much the selection of the object to be taxed, as the way in which the value of the property is assessed. Income tax is probably the fairest form of taxation, provided that the amount of income to be taxed is fixed on a really just basis. It is obviously necessary to prevent fraud and evasion, but surely this can be effectively secured by providing a very drastic method of inquiry, conducted when necessary by higher officials of the Inland Revenue Department. Subject to this, income which is taxable should be that which remains to the owner for the personal provision of his family and himself after he has discharged all the responsibilities connected with the class of property which he enjoys. It has, for a long time, been very difficult, if not actually impossible, to secure a fair hearing in the House of Commons for the reconsideration of those cases where the income is counted by thousands, but to anyone

who will give impartial consideration to the facts, the unfairness of the present system must be manifest. Take the case of two men with an equal income. The one has a house and property to maintain. The other has nothing and can live where he likes, and not having a residence of any kind in the country can, if he chooses, occupy rooms in an hotel, which he gives up when he goes abroad. After taking into consideration all the allowances which the owner of the landed property can claim, the difference in the spending power of the two is very great and the advantage lies on the side of the one who has no fixed responsibilities and who therefore does the minimum amount of good. Surely this is not only unfair, but it cannot be in the best interests of the country. Ought not every possible inducement be given to the taxpayers to reside in their own homes, and so to contribute, not only to the wages earned in the neighbourhood, but to the general prosperity and comfort of that part of the country in which they live.

I believe, if it were only possible to secure open and frank discussion for this aspect of taxation, and if the facts and figures were placed at the disposal of those engaged in the discussion, the Labour Party themselves would see the force of the argument, and it would be found, not only possible, but comparatively speaking easy, to devise a much fairer system than that which now prevails.

I have no desire to see rich men unfairly taxed. Quite the contrary! I believe all taxation should be made as just as possible, so that no one need feel he has a real grievance. To allow an unjust tax to continue simply because it falls upon a minority of the people, and therefore can command only a small hostile vote amongst the electorate, is to maintain a state of things which cannot be for the good of the State in the long run.

While I object, as I have said, to Mr. Lloyd George's land taxes, it is only fair to remember that he recognized

more thoroughly and more generously than any other Chancellor of the Exchequer the claims of the landowner for redress, and he extended the grounds upon which claims for reduction in the amount of income tax should be made. All that is really wanted is an extension of this principle, and once it is realized that there is an injustice, there would not be any need for delay in carrying out the change.

When I returned from South Africa I found the agitation caused by the Budget in full swing. A league had been formed called the Budget Protest League. Headquarters had been taken at Westminster and an organization set on foot. I was invited to become president of the League, and for several months I was engaged in very strenuous work connected with the organization and the requisite propaganda throughout the country. It meant setting up an organization which should cover the whole of Great Britain, and the explanation, by pamphlets and other forms of propaganda, of the true bearing of the Budget. Many joined who were not members of the Unionist Party, and we held a great many extremely successful meetings. I remember one in particular, at Mountain Ash in South Wales, in an immense building that was estimated to hold many thousands of people, and a wonderful gathering it was. There were, of course, interruptions and questions, but it was an undoubted success. Similar meetings, marked by considerable enthusiasm and unanimity of opinion, took place throughout the country.

The result of the action of the League was to make it quite clear that the narrower view obtaining in Parliament was by no means shared by the people of the country. Our work necessarily involved some difficulties with the party organizations of the country. The Head Whip of our Party, Sir Alexander Acland-Hood, afterwards Lord St. Audries, one of the most capable and popular

Whips we ever had, was of the opinion we ought not to interfere in the Metropolitan area, but that we should confine our efforts to the provinces. This was a mistake, for, when the Election was held and fought on the Budget issue, we won in every direction in the provinces, and it was only in the Metropolis that we failed to disturb the Liberal Party. However, as a net result, the Government majority was reduced from 400 to just over 100, and if London had followed the example of the provinces the majority might almost have disappeared.

When it is said that the House of Lords were wrong in the line they took in rejecting the Budget, I think the fact is ignored that the General Elections of 1910 showed enormous losses for the Liberals, and deprived the Government of the majority which had made them independent of both Parties of the State, and left them dependent upon the Irish Party. This fact would not seem to justify the sweeping statement that the House of Lords was wrong and that the country as a whole disapproved of their action.

There then came the agitation over the anticipated action of the House of Lords in regard to the Parliament Bill, and the threat that if that House should prove recalcitrant, the Government would create enough Peers to overwhelm the majority. It is almost unbelievable that such a proposal should have been made. It produced a tremendous agitation and finally led to the creation of a body within our Party, whose object it was to persuade the House of Lords to take up a firm attitude at the risk even of the creation of the new Peers.

What the facts of the case were I really do not know. I was abroad at the time, and dependent for my information upon letters from home. But as the House of Lords decided to pass the Bill it was not necessary to resort to the very violent measures indicated above. There was, however, a clear division in our Party, bitter

attacks were made upon our Leader and those who supported him. It was a time of quite exceptional trial and anxiety, and in 1911 Mr. Balfour suddenly announced that he had made up his mind to retire from the leadership in consequence of the state of his health. Everybody was profoundly grieved. Everybody realized what an immense loss this meant, not only to our Party, but to the country. Nobody wondered that he felt the strain of being Leader for so long a time in the House of Commons, in office as Prime Minister, and subsequently as Leader of the Opposition. When one remembers the wonderful work he was able to do during the War and since, we can only rejoice that at the right time he took the rest which was so essential, and in consequence he was able to perform the great tasks in War and Peace with which his name is now, and forever will be, associated.

When it became quite clear that Mr. Balfour would not reconsider his decision, a successor had to be found, and this led to a somewhat troublesome experience for myself Many accounts of what happened at the time have been made public, but none of them are really accurate. This is not to be wondered at, because all that took place was of a semi-private character and only known to a comparatively small number of people.

The complete fusion of the Conservative and the Liberal Unionist Parties had not then taken place. The Opposition was composed of Conservatives, who were in a great majority, and Liberal Unionists. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was, unhappily, permanently on the sick list, and therefore the choice of a Leader had to be made from among the junior members of what is known as the Front Bench. The Conservative section of the Party did me the honour of selecting me as their candidate, while the Liberal Unionists put forward Mr. Austen Chamberlain. I propose to tell very simply and briefly my

experience of the controversy, which for a short time raged somewhat furiously. My friends insisted upon my allowing my name to be brought forward. Mr. Austen Chamberlain's friends took the same course with regard to him. The question arose how was the decision to be made. I was, unfortunately, very unwell at the time, but my friends came constantly to see me and assured me that if it came to a vote of the Party I would secure an overwhelming majority. This seemed to me probable as the Conservatives were, as I have said, in the greater strength, and the old jealousy between the two sections had not, by any means, subsided.

However, the feeling amongst my friends had reached a very high pitch, and when I suggested that I should withdraw and leave Mr. Chamberlain in the field, the proposal was so strongly resented by them that I had to abandon it. This was not due to any real preference for myself, still less to any lack of confidence in Mr. Chamberlain, but solely to the fact that it would place a member of the minority of the Party in control of the whole of our future and of the affairs of the Conservative majority. Had it not been for this position there would have been no difficulty. Very little time was left in which to decide matters, and the pressure upon me was very great, as, I have no doubt, it was upon Mr. Chamberlain.

I, of course, had conversations with others who were either opposed to me or who were not connected with either Mr. Chamberlain or myself. It seemed to me that there must be a somewhat bitter fight. We should have to hold some sort of election and, in all probability, a third candidate would be brought forward. It was clear that from one cause and another we should be plunged into a disagreeable and perhaps really troublesome contest, which might easily have far-reaching and injurious effects upon the fortunes of the Party.

Subsequently I learnt that it was intended to bring forward the name of Mr. Bonar Law, who at that time had never held Cabinet office. I, however, knew him well. I had a great admiration for and belief in him, and I thought, as I said at the Carlton Club meeting, that the selection of a man who had not been associated with the leadership of the Party in recent years, who did not belong to the "territorial class," and who would bring new blood, as well as unquestioned ability, to the post of Leader, would probably strengthen our Party, help to overcome our present difficulties, increase our numbers and regain our old position. I asked some of my supporters to see me. I told them I had come to the definite decision that it would be better for all concerned and in the truest interest of the country and the Party that I should retire, if Mr. Chamberlain was prepared to adopt the same course, and that an independent candidate should be selected, if one could be found, who would be agreeable to the Party as a whole. This proposal I accordingly made to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. He agreed, and it ultimately commended itself to all concerned. In due course a meeting was held at the Carlton Club at which I proposed and Mr. Austen Chamberlain seconded the election of Mr. Bonar Law. It was carried unanimously and enthusiastically, and it is now unnecessary for me to say with what tremendous benefit to the country. Everybody knows how brilliant a part Mr. Bonar Law has played in our public life, first as our Leader in Opposition, later as a very prominent and responsible member of Mr. Asquith's Coalition, subsequently as second in command to Mr. Lloyd George when the latter formed the Government which remained in office till Peace had been secured, and recently as Prime Minister.

I take advantage of this opportunity to pay my

tribute to the great services rendered to the country and to the Conservative Party by Mr. Bonar Law, who, having been compelled to retire from the Coalition Government on account of ill-health, came forward as soon as he realized that the general situation had become really critical, and determined to lead his Party in what were at the moment troublesome and, to him, painful circumstances.

It is, I am sure, unnecessary for me to say that the friendship between Mr. Chamberlain and myself was, if anything, strengthened by what happened. Profoundly though I grieved when the first breakdown in Mr. Bonar Law's health occurred, I cordially rejoiced when Mr. Chamberlain was proposed to fill the post. I had retired and was on a sick bed, but in response to a request from the Chief Whip and others I had no hesitation in sending a telegram, which was read at the meeting at the Carlton Club, in which I advocated the appointment of Mr. Chamberlain.

In telling this story I do not pretend to know everything that happened. There was very little time to come to a decision, and there were no formal meetings of the party leaders after the one at which Mr. Balfour's resignation was accepted. It had been decided to hold a party meeting immediately, at which the new Leader should be selected, consequently events moved rapidly. I kept full notes of all that occurred within my own knowledge, and I can confidently say that all the chief participators in the proceedings cared for and thought of was the good of the Unionist Party, with which, of course, they associated the welfare of the Empire.

The one predominant feeling in my mind, as in the Party generally, was that we had suffered an irreparable loss, and that it would be a very difficult task to fill the gap caused by Mr. Balfour's retirement.

CHAPTER XII

THE FIGHT AGAINST HOME RULE

I TOOK a somewhat leading part in establishing a new organization in January, 1907, which was called the Union Defence League. The history of this new movement deserves some notice in any record of my political life.

Since 1895 the Home Rule question had receded from the forefront of political controversy. At the General Election of 1906 the Liberal leaders kept it in the background. Mr. Asquith openly declared that, in his opinion, Home Rule was not a question for the next House of Commons, and that it would be playing false to the constituencies if votes given to the Liberals on the Free Trade issue by many who were not Home Rulers were used for the purpose of carrying Home Rule.

The issues at the election were many. I have already recorded my opinion that the Chinese "Slavery" question played a predominant part. At the same time Tariff Reform, Free Trade, the "Dear Loaf," the Education controversy, the Licensing question, the Taff Vale judgment, and the general record of the Unionist Government were all put to the electors. In the confusion Home Rule was hardly mentioned, and was certainly not regarded as an issue by the country. It was described by Mr. Birrell as "a bogey," but the Liberal leaders did not rule it entirely out of their programme. Falling back upon a policy to which some Unionists had given countenance a few years

before, the Prime Minister (Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman) pointed out that there were two ways of capturing a stronghold—one by assault ; the other by sapping. He indicated that the Liberal policy was the latter. " If I were asked for advice by an ardent Nationalist," he said, " I would say my desire is to see the effective management of Irish affairs in the hands of a representative Irish party. If I were a Nationalist I would take it in any way I could get it, provided it was consistent and led up to the larger policy." He laid stress on the proviso: " It must be consistent with and lead up to the larger policy."

The session of 1906 was occupied with the controversy over the Education Bill. Irish Nationalists were opposed to the Government's plans as they affected Roman Catholic schools in England and Wales. For tactical reasons the official Unionist organizers were unwilling to awaken any hostility on the Home Rule question which might negative the sympathetic attitude on the part of the Irish Nationalists in the fight against the Education Bill. In these circumstances, it appeared to Unionists who were immediately interested in the Home Rule question that a special organization was required, not only to fight the Liberal Government's policy, but also to educate the electors on the Home Rule question, the younger generation of whom was entirely without knowledge of the facts of the case. Hence the formation of the Union Defence League.

The first meeting of the Executive Committee of the U.D.L. was held in February, 1907. I was in the chair and there were present the Earl of Harrowby, the Earl of Ranfurly, the Earl of Westmeath, Lord Balcarres, Lord Oranmore and Browne ; the following Members of Parliament : J. S. Arkwright, G. H. Butcher, C. C. Craig, J. F. Mason, Sam Roberts and Ian Malcolm ; Joseph R. Fisher, the editor of the *Northern Whig*, and the secretary, Sir Arthur Douglas, Bart. He had been Under-

Secretary for Defence, New Zealand, 1895–1903. He died in 1913 as the result of injuries received in the railway accident at Aisgill.

Arrangements were made by the League for missionary and propaganda work in selected constituencies, and for Parliamentary work in connection with the Irish Council Bill. This ill-fated measure was introduced into the House of Commons on May 7, 1907. A Nationalist Convention in Dublin on May 21, on the motion of Mr. John Redmond, refused to accept this instalment of Home Rule. On June 3 the Prime Minister (Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman) announced that the Bill would not be proceeded with. The withdrawal of the Bill naturally affected the work of the League. I spoke against it during the month of May at Preston, Belfast, Dublin and Portadown, and a meeting of protest at the Queen's Hall, London, was held, as already arranged, in June, 1907. At this meeting there spoke Mr. A. J. Balfour, Lord Lansdowne, Earl Percy, Mr. Richard Bagwell, the Marquis of Londonderry, Sir Edward Carson and myself.

During the remainder of the year 1907 the work of the League, owing to the withdrawal of the Irish Council Bill, was considerably curtailed. The failure of the Irish Council Bill gave Home Rule an opportunity to come to the front. A Home Rule resolution was moved by John Redmond in the House of Commons on March 30, 1908, and was accepted by Mr. Asquith (now Prime Minister), subject to an amendment respecting the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. A declaration by Mr. Winston Churchill during his by-election in North-West Manchester, was significant. He said (April 20, 1908), "with the full concurrence and approval of the Prime Minister, that at the end of the present Parliament the Liberal Party should claim full authority and a free hand to deal with the problem of Irish self-government without being restricted to some

measure of administration and devolution of the character of the Irish Council Bill." The Irish protagonists were also getting active. Both the Unionist Associations of Ireland Joint Committee—representing the Irish Unionist Alliance and the Ulster Unionist Council—and the Irish Nationalists organized campaigns in Great Britain during the year. There were, however, still considerable difficulties in bringing the case against Home Rule to the notice of the electors. Offers of assistance from the Union Defence League had been refused at recent by-elections. The feeling of the League was one of regret that no pressure was being exercised by the Conservative Central Office upon local associations to ensure prominence for the anti-Home Rule position at by-elections in the constituencies. There was a danger in allowing Home Rule to be thrust into the background at by-elections, whilst Mr. Birrell was making Home Rule speeches on every opportunity and the Nationalist and Liberal Members of Parliament were arranging to hold a joint Home Rule campaign throughout Great Britain during the winter. The official organizers of the Party were informed that, although the U.D.L. was founded to operate within the lines laid down by the Conservative Central organization, yet if the Home Rule question were to be officially neglected the League would have to reconsider its position.

During 1908 and 1909, under the secretaryship of Mr. Ian Malcolm, who had succeeded Sir Alfred Douglas, the U.D.L. maintained a steady—though not extensive—propaganda and educational campaign. There was a diminution of its activities in 1909 owing to the concentration of political activity upon the controversies aroused by "the People's Budget."

At the General Election of January, 1910, the Home Rule question still occupied a subordinate position. Candidates preferred to talk about something "more in-

teresting" than Home Rule. As the *Annual Register* stated: "The Liberals had fought on Free Trade and the constitutional issue."

After the General Election of December, 1910, in view of Mr. Asquith's pledge that the Liberal Government would give Home Rule to Ireland, the Union Defence League began to renew its activities. At its meeting in March, 1911, an important forward step was taken by the Executive Committee. The chairman was requested to write to the chairman of the Irish Unionist Alliance and the chairman of the Ulster Unionist Council, intimating that the Executive Committee of the U.D.L. had accepted the invitation of the Irish Unionist Party to appoint a deputation to consider the question of organizing the opposition to the Home Rule movement, and expressing the hope of meeting at that conference deputations from the I.U.A. and U.U.C. Representatives of the organizations concerned met at Londonderry House on April 6, 1911, under the chairmanship of Sir Edward Carson, as leader of the Irish Unionist Parliamentary Party. The result of the conference was an agreement delimiting the spheres of work of the organizations in the forthcoming campaign in Great Britain. The agreement formed the basis of an understanding which as the campaign continued became closer and developed, in fact, into a single, co-ordinated effort. The fear of overlapping and wasted effort on the part of the organizations concerned was avoided by the agreement. In Ireland, the Irish Unionist Alliance and the Ulster Unionist Council carried out their own work. In Great Britain, under the name of the Unionist Associations of Ireland Joint Committee, they joined with the Union Defence League in the campaign against Home Rule, sharing the same London offices.

With the autumn of 1911 the campaign against Home Rule was definitely launched, and the minutes of the

committee meetings of the Union Defence League became increasingly devoted to the details of an extensive campaign, which had to be co-ordinated with the terms of the Londonderry House agreement and to be conducted with reference to the policy of the official party organizers at the Conservative Central Office. Contact with this office was increased by adding Mr. Steel Maitland (the chairman of the Unionist Party Organization) and John Boraston (the principal agent) to the Executive Committee.

The campaign followed the usual lines in the way of meetings, but special attention was given to the Press, to the wide distribution of such books as Professor Dicey's "Leap in the Dark," to lectures for speakers, and to "missionary" work. Two novel features which were commenced in the autumn of 1911 were a travelling exhibition of photographs, etc., relating to the treatment of Irish loyalists by Home Rulers, and a poster campaign in all towns where John Redmond spoke. The former attracted much notice and was of considerable educational effect. The latter caused Mr. John Redmond great annoyance, as the posters drew attention to the more extreme opinions which he had expressed on other occasions. They proved inconvenient reminders at a time when he was trying to win British support for Home Rule by expressing most moderate views.

At the end of the year the motor van campaign was started. The first van was added to from time to time, and, in addition to lantern slides, a cinematograph exhibition was also given from the vans.

The experiences of loyalist farmers in Nationalist Ireland were personally brought to the notice of English land workers by bringing across representative Irish farmers who were under the boycott. There is no doubt that their accounts of their experiences, which were explained

in conversations on market days and in villages, produced a considerable impression.

The campaign in Great Britain was helped by the activity of the Ulster Unionist Council, which on September 23, 1911, organized its first big demonstration in the new campaign, at Craigavon, when Sir Edward Carson outlined his plans. The demonstration was followed, on September 25, by a meeting of the Ulster Unionist Council, at which preliminary steps were taken to frame a constitution for a Provisional Government in Ulster.

The work of the U.D.L. increased considerably in 1912 owing to the introduction of the Home Rule Bill. Classes for speakers and others on the Bill were held, and a technical guide to the Bill was produced under the editorship of Mr. J. H. Campbell and was issued for private circulation. In the House of Commons innumerable questions to Ministers on doubtful points of the Bill were put, on an organized basis, and answers were obtained which proved invaluable in the subsequent debates and embarrassing to the Government. The organization of information for the use of speakers during the debates on the Bill in the House of Commons was undertaken. Memoranda were prepared for the Second Reading debate, and during the Committee and Report stages of the Bill memoranda were circulated on all important amendments.

During the whole of the year the propaganda campaign in the country proceeded without intermission, and the Home Rule question was made a feature at by-elections. A series of mass demonstrations was held in all the big centres of population.

In Ulster during the year, events occurred which had considerable effect in bringing the importance of the Home Rule controversy to the attention of the British public. The Ulster Volunteer Force also began to take shape. The climax of Ulster Unionist opposition was

reached in September, when the Ulster Covenant was signed on what became known as " Ulster Day," September 28, 1912.

At Easter Mr. Bonar Law, as Leader of the Unionist Party, addressed a huge demonstration at the Balmoral Show Grounds in Belfast, and from this time there could be no doubt of the official association of the Unionist Party in the campaign against Home Rule.

In January, 1913, the House of Lords rejected the Home Rule Bill. It was re-introduced into the House of Commons under the provisions of the Parliament Act early in the following session. The discussion on it was, of course, a farce. The House of Lords again rejected the measure. Interest on the question was now wholly transferred to the constituencies. The anti-Home Rule campaign had already produced counter-propaganda. Liberals and Irish Home Rulers were working in close alliance through an organization entitled the Home Rule Council, which was established at the end of the year 1911, and the president of which was Mr. Winston Churchill. The battle was now clearly joined. There is, however, little to record of outstanding interest. The work of the U.D.L. continued on an increasing scale, and the co-ordination with the Unionist Associations of Ireland Joint Committee was able to reach a closer degree. A striking instance of the success attending this joint campaign was shown at the Reading by-election (October-November, 1913), where, on the resignation of Sir Rufus Isaacs on his appointment as Lord Chief Justice, the seat was won by the Unionists, and the Liberal candidate was forced, by pressure of opinion, to promise " separate and generous treatment for Ulster."

There was every indication that the year 1914 would be the decisive period in the campaign. The various political questions which had served to confuse the issue were now being cleared away. The Home Rule Bill

during that session would be introduced in the House of Commons for the third time, and, if rejected by the House of Lords, would become law under the provisions of the Parliament Act. The Liberals were showing a lively appreciation of the Ulster question.

The approaching crisis moved a number of influential public men, for the most part not closely identified with party politics, to organize a protest against the Government's policy. A meeting of the Council of the Union Defence League on February 19, 1914, was addressed by Lord Milner as spokesman for this body of opinion. It was agreed to place the staff of the Union Defence League at Lord Milner's disposal for the purpose of organizing the campaign, and a special sub-committee under my chairmanship was appointed to initiate the movement. On March 3, 1914, there appeared in the Press an appeal to join in a solemn protest, and to sign the following declaration :

"I, of , earnestly convinced that the claim of the Government to carry the Home Rule Bill into law, without submitting it to the judgment of the nation, is contrary to the spirit of our constitution, do hereby solemnly declare that, if that Bill is so passed, I shall hold myself justified in taking or supporting any action that may be effective to prevent it being put into operation, and more particularly to prevent the armed forces of the Crown being used to deprive the people of Ulster of their rights as citizens of the United Kingdom."

The original signatories to the Declaration were, in addition to Lord Milner, Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, Admiral Sir E. H. Seymour, Lord Aldenham, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Sir George Hayter Chubb, Archdeacon

Cunningham, Lord Desborough, Professor A. V. Dicey, Sir Edward Elgar, Professor Goudy, Viscount Halifax, Sir Alexander Henderson, Mr. Rudyard Kipling, Lord Lovat, the Duke of Portland, Sir William Ramsay, Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Dean Wace, and Dr. Herbert Warren, the President of Magdalen College, Oxford.

The organization of facilities to the public for the signature of the Declaration, which became known as the British Covenant, was entrusted to the Union Defence League.

To each signatory it was decided to send a certificate of signature, and, with a view to future organization, the names and addresses of the signatories were card-indexed and sorted geographically. The appointment of local correspondents in each area was undertaken, and a movement was inaugurated for obtaining financial aid for the support of the Ulster Volunteers and the Provisional Government.

The appeal which accompanied the Declaration pointed out that the time was fast approaching when the evident intention of the Government to pass the Home Rule Bill into law—without giving the nation, either by means of a General Election or of a Referendum, an opportunity of pronouncing judgment upon it—would plunge the country into wild turmoil without parallel in living memory.

Believing that so fundamental a change in the constitution of the United Kingdom in the circumstances would be utterly devoid of moral sanction, and that the resistance of those Irishmen who were unwilling to be deprived of their existing status as full citizens of the United Kingdom would be a well-justified resistance, the signatories refused to accept and declined to be bound by the provisions of a law which radically altered the constitution, so long as that law had not received the sanction of the people.

The Declaration, it was pointed out, committed no one

to take any particular action which, at a given moment, his conscience and judgment did not approve. In fact, it was impossible to decide what steps might be effective or would be necessary in circumstances which it was hoped would not arise. It was not, however, too soon for those who realized the imminent danger to band themselves together. By that course they would be giving the Government timely warning of the consequences which must result from persistence in its policy.

Originally it had been decided to limit the signatories to men over the age of eighteen. The insistent request of women to associate themselves in this form of protest against Home Rule led to the organization of a similar scheme for women. There was a rush to sign so soon as the opportunity was given. Opponents tried to deter the public from signing by alleging that the signatories thereby committed themselves to illegal action—a course which might have serious consequences. Signatures continued to be received up to the outbreak of the War. It will never be known how many persons actually signed the British Covenant. The War stopped the return to headquarters of signature sheets in the country, and those received after the end of July were never counted. Headquarters had, however, received the signatures of over 831,000 men to July 31, and over 530,000 women to the beginning of July had appended their signatures.

These were the last available figures, but a conservative estimate of the number of signatories placed the men at over a million and the women at approaching 750,000 at the commencement of the War.

In April, 1914, the movement was placed upon a more definite footing. A conference of Covenanters was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, when I took the chair. A League of British Covenanters was formed under the presidency of Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, and a resolution

was passed pledging the British Covenanters " to use every means in their power to prevent Home Rule being established without the sanction of the nation, and to support Sir Edward Carson and the people of Ulster in their gallant struggle to maintain their constitutional rights." At the first meeting of the Executive Committee of the League I was elected chairman.

Among those who, in addition to the original signatories to the Covenant, were members of the Executive Committee were Lord Crawford, Lord Dartmouth, Lord Stanhope, Lord Ridley, Lord Ampthill, Mr. F. E. Smith, Sir Arthur Lawley, Mr. Herbert Gibbs, Surgeon-General Sir James Porter, Sir Harry Samuel, Colonel Callwell, Mr. J. H. Birchenough, Mr. C. W. Boyd, Captain J. Gilmour, Mr. Basil Peto, Mr. J. F. P. Rawlinson, Mr. G. Cave, Mr. Clavell Salter, Mr. Hume Williams, Mr. Amery, Mr. Ian Malcolm, Mr. F. S. Oliver, Mr. Fabian Ware, Mr. R. D. Blumenfeld, Alderman Salvidge and Mr. J. S. Arkwright. The treasurers were Mr. J. F. Mason and Lieut.-Col. G. Gibbs. Among members of the General Council were Sir George Alexander, Mr. Charles Booth, Sir Lauder Brunton, Lord Hugh Cecil, Professor Norman Collie, Mr. Frank Dicksee, Professor H. E. Egerton, Sir Alfred Fripp, Mr. W. L. Hichens, Professor W. P. Ker, Mr. F. S. Oliver, Sir R. H. I. Palgrave, Dr. Bruce Porter and Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey.

On the following day (April 8, 1914), with the wholehearted co-operation of the Unionist organization in London, there took place in Hyde Park an open air demonstration which was admitted to be the largest ever held there. Twenty-two main processions converged on the Park. They arrived in good time for the speeches—a fact worthy of note in connection with such gatherings—which were delivered from fourteen platforms. In the country an extensive campaign of demonstrations and

smaller meetings was proceeded with. A unique event was a speech by Mr. Rudyard Kipling at a demonstration at Tunbridge Wells. The occasion created much interest and some millions of copies of a pamphlet reprint of his speech were sold. Great activity was displayed at by-elections. The spirits of the opponents of Home Rule were greatly raised by the result of a by-election at Ipswich in May, 1914, when the seat was won by the Unionists and a Liberal Minister (C. F. G. Masterman) was defeated. The feature of the election was an immense popular reception of Sir Edward Carson, who spoke there.

In Ulster the situation had passed out of the phase of mass meetings and propaganda into final preparations for action. The Liberal Government was interesting itself now in the activities of the Ulster Unionists.

The Ulster Unionist leaders had reason to believe that the ordinary methods of communication by post and telegraph were not to be trusted, and it was not always advisable, having regard to the nature of certain business, to make use of the postal and telegraph service. Circumstances made the offices of the U.D.L. the natural headquarters in London of Ulster Unionists, and there appeared to be a good deal of interest shown in the activities of the office by mysterious strangers whose appearance in the course of time became quite familiar to the officials of the League. I do not think there can be any doubt that our movements were subject to a system of close espionage. Certainly many of us were followed about London and elsewhere ; houses and offices were watched, and this naturally and inevitably led to counter precautions on our part. It was also of importance to get an early knowledge of the movements initiated by Ministers against the Ulster Unionists. Clearly no record of the means taken to obtain information can be given, but one can say that a good many of the secret moves of the

Government were made known in good time in the proper quarters.

In anticipation of the worst happening the Union Defence League was actively concerned with the organization of refuge camps in Great Britain for Ulster women and children. One of its last acts before the War came was to set up a committee to co-operate with the Ulster Medical Board in arranging for adequate supplies of hospital equipment, dressings, drugs, and for the provision of trained nurses, ambulance orderlies and stretcher bearers for service in Ulster.

The work of propaganda and organization proceeded steadily without being affected by the political manœuvres of Liberal Ministers to place Ulster in a false position with public opinion in Great Britain by offering some plausible concession insufficiently real to lose them Irish Nationalist support.

The organization which had been formed with so much care and labour was never put to the supreme test.

It is now a matter of idle speculation whether the campaign would have been successful in defeating Home Rule. It may be that the Government might have suppressed the organizations concerned, or it might have decided to put the controversy to the test of a General Election. The crisis was fast approaching when the War came and put an instant end to the campaign. Though Mr. Asquith took advantage of the situation to place a Home Rule Act on the statute book without an amending Act for Ulster as promised, no further political work was undertaken.

The only part of the League's work that was continued during the War was the collection, filing and indexing of material from newspapers and elsewhere which related to Irish affairs. This service proved of great value. It was placed at the disposal of the Irish Unionist delegates

during the sittings of the Irish Convention in 1917, and the records were taken across to Ireland and accompanied the delegates to their sittings in Dublin, Cork and Belfast. When the Home Rule question and Irish affairs came before Parliament after the War the service was made of considerable use by Members of Parliament, journalists and others who were interested. No propaganda campaign was initiated, but the Irish Unionist Parliamentary Party, the Ulster Unionist Council and the Irish Unionist Alliance made their London headquarters at the offices of the Union Defence League, until the passing of the Irish Free State Act brought the old fight against Home Rule to a conclusion.

The Ulster Movement received immense sympathy on this side of the Channel and in many parts of the Empire. When Sir Edward Carson realized that it would be necessary to form a great self-contained organization, he paid me the compliment of inviting me to assist him on this side of the water.

The loyal, industrious and prosperous province of Ulster, although it contained in some of its counties a considerable number of Roman Catholics, was essentially Protestant. The majority were absolutely determined that they would not be governed by a Parliament sitting in Dublin, which they believed would be composed mainly of members of another Church. Though it is no doubt true that their religious feelings very largely governed their actions and dictated their policy, there were many other reasons which weighed heavily with them, and it was perhaps difficult for any outsider who did not really know Ireland and her people to appreciate the facts of the situation.

Apart from this question of the Churches, the people of Ulster adhered tenaciously to the view that outside their province the conditions of industry and consequently

of life in Ireland were vastly inferior to those which obtained within their own borders. They firmly believed that if they were to become subject to the rule of the majority it would mean serious loss to them and a material lessening of their prosperity. These, at all events, were the convictions I formed on the spot after innumerable conversations with individuals of all classes and discussions at various gatherings, both public and private. That they were not inaccurate is proved by what took place when an attempt was made to force Home Rule down their throats.

As all the world knows, Sir Edward Carson, one of the most distinguished Irishmen that country has ever produced—a great lawyer, with an immense practice—has sacrificed all his own personal advantages and devoted the whole of his strength, wonderful ability and passionate enthusiasm to the cause of Ulster. It has frequently been stated that he was the instigator and founder of the threatened Civil War. Knowing all the inner history of the struggle from beginning to end, I desire to affirm as strongly as I can that there is not a vestige of truth in this allegation. Indeed, in my deliberate opinion, the exact opposite was the case. True it is that a great Ulster Volunteer Force was formed, that the people were organized in a most remarkable way, every preparation being made to defend what they regarded as their rights and liberties as citizens of the United Kingdom. If these steps had not been taken I do not hesitate to say that trouble of the gravest kind would certainly have occurred, that violent resistance would have been offered, and that the conditions of things obtaining when the War broke out in 1914, which enabled Ulster, under Sir Edward Carson's leadership, to make such splendid contributions to our fighting forces, would not have existed. The great province would have been torn with internal dissension, and the very thing

which Sir Edward Carson's critics condemned him for having started would inevitably have taken place. The whole province would have been plunged into a Civil War which would have rendered it powerless to contribute to the defence of the Empire, if not for all time, at all events for a considerable period.

Not only would this have been the case, but it would have been necessary to maintain a large force of British troops in the country instead of releasing them for foreign service, and not only to keep troops, but to equip them with all those munitions of war of which we were, alas, so desperately short in the earlier years of the War. I claim, as I believe do all those who were really familiar with what went on in Ulster, that, far from encouraging Civil War and plunging that province and probably the whole country into bloodshed, Sir Edward Carson, thanks to his great personal influence and wonderful powers of leadership, actually saved his country from these calamities and enabled Ulster to turn her splendid Volunteer Force over to the British Government to form a part of the Army in France, with what glorious results everybody now knows.

The organization of Ulster, the formation and training of her fighting forces, was a great accomplishment, and was due to the leadership of Sir Edward and the wonderful organizing powers of Captain, now Sir James, Craig and Prime Minister of the North of Ireland.

It may be remarked that Lord Kitchener was so appreciative of the manner in which the U.V.F. had equipped itself that in the middle of August, 1914, he preferred a request to the Ulster leaders for 5,000 rifles and a sufficient supply of ammunition for the Belgian Army.

The secretary of the U.D.L. went to Belfast and interviewed Sir James Craig. There was not, however, more than a small reserve in the hands of Headquarters. The

remainder was held individually throughout the province, and it was beyond human nature to expect Ulster Unionists to disarm themselves at that moment at the bidding of a Government which had been, as they believed, on the verge of declaring war on them, and had a few days before broken a solemn pledge respecting the exclusion of Ulster.

I enjoyed many opportunities of seeing the Ulster Volunteer Force, not merely on parade, but in their training, and a most efficient Force it was. It was curious to observe the relations which existed between the sailors and soldiers of the British Forces and the members of the Ulster Force. They were the very best of friends, and there is no doubt that the Ulstermen enjoyed their whole-hearted sympathy. Surely this is not to be wondered at, and ought not to give rise to any charge of want of loyalty, when we realize that the Ulstermen were intensely loyal and firmly believed that their British citizenship was in danger; they were fighting under the same Flag under which the sailors and soldiers of the Crown were prepared to fight, and they all regarded it with the same veneration and affection.

In the course of this bitter controversy certain steps were taken by some officers of the British Army, and their action was strongly condemned by many people. I do not propose to discuss it now for obvious reasons, but, knowing many of them very intimately, I, at all events, felt, in the terrible choice with which they were confronted, that they were only acting in accordance with their belief as to what was right when they determined that in no circumstances would they participate in any attempt to shoot down the loyal citizens of Ulster.

In this prolonged and bitter controversy our Leader, Mr. Bonar Law, the most cautious and prudent of men, decided to throw the fortune of his Party on the side of Ulster. He took this step in a speech which he made at a great

Unionist demonstration held at Woodstock, presided over by the Duke of Marlborough. The effect was instantaneous, and the Party supported him to a man. Ulster realized that she had behind her the great Unionist Party, and the advocates of Home Rule were brought face to face with the fact that the conflict in which they were engaged was one of the gravest import. I was present with Mr. Bonar Law at a demonstration held in Balmoral grounds in the neighbourhood of Belfast. It was attended by deputations of the Ulster people from the whole province, and was, I think, the most remarkable political demonstration which I have ever witnessed.

This great gathering ought surely to have impressed those who were in favour of passing the Bill at all costs? This was no holiday or picnic, many of the sections had come a long distance, they had all made their own arrangements for refreshments, which were necessarily of the most modest and abstemious kind, and their demeanour as they saluted the two men whom they venerated, in one case the Leader of the Unionist Party, and the other their own adored Leader, ought to have convinced the most prejudiced or casual observer that they were in desperate earnest. It was a miserable day, cold and wet, but nothing damped their enthusiasm. When the proceedings were over, the late Lord Londonderry and I returned to Belfast in a motor-car, or rather, to be more accurate, I should say seated on the hood of the car, as the crowds that lined the roads the whole way from Balmoral to Belfast were so great, their enthusiasm so wonderful, their cheering so continuous, that both Lord Londonderry and I felt that we must sit upon the highest seat available and show our appreciation of the welcome accorded to us. As it poured in torrents during the whole journey, it is easier to imagine than to describe the condition we were in on our arrival in the city.

The effect of the meeting was to put a seal definitely upon the union of the anti-Home Rule majority of Ulster and the Unionist Party of the United Kingdom.

Mr. Bonar Law had not long become Leader of the Party, and he was, of course, violently attacked for the line he had taken. Every sort of accusation was thrown at him, but he never wavered. He had not taken this great step without full consideration. He realized how tremendous was the issue with which we were confronted, and he contributed the one great force which was required in order to secure the ultimate triumph of the cause.

It fell to my lot to take a very active part in the Parliamentary discussions on the Bill. I was deputed by my Leader, Mr. Bonar Law, to move the rejection of the Second Reading, and also of the Third Reading, and as the last Unionist Chief Secretary, I had, of course, to take a considerable part in all the discussions on the other stages. I can honestly say that I did my best to convince the Government that they could not, without terrible bloodshed, force the acceptance of the Home Rule proposal upon the Northern Province. I recounted my experiences at various meetings which I had attended. To one who had been present at many political gatherings in other parts of the United Kingdom, the attitude of the Ulster men and women gave a remarkable insight into the real feelings which prompted them in their line of conduct. I appealed to the Government on more than one occasion to make some definite proposal for the exclusion of Ulster from the operations of the Bill. With a view to enforcing my argument, I asked them whether they believed they could subdue a people who began their meetings by singing that wonderful old hymn, "O God, our help in ages past," and ended with the National Anthem, sung with a fervour and intensity of feeling that I, at least, had never heard exceeded, if even equalled.

To this day I marvel that the Government did not take some step in this direction. Though I should have really regretted to see Home Rule imposed upon the three other provinces, I have always felt that if Ulster had been excluded, as is the case to-day, whatever our feelings may have been, it would have been impossible to prevent the Bill from passing into law. Surely there is reason to believe that if this had taken place before the South of Ireland had been torn asunder by the terrible controversies of the last few years, Home Rule would have been started on its way with a much greater prospect of success than was possible when the Bill creating the Free State Parliament was passed into law.

I do not deny that in all probability a movement would have been set on foot to carry Home Rule much further, but the old Nationalist Party would have been in power and would have been called upon to administer the Government of the country. Though speculation of this kind is valueless, I indulge in it solely for this reason—it seems to me to justify the view that there must always be special occasions when it is desirable that the Government of the day should not adhere to the strict lines of party controversy. They should endeavour to take a *via media* in order to secure a favourable start for their policy. They should avoid creating the bitterness of feeling and violent hostility which must result when a large body of men and women hold the view that legitimate aspirations are being trampled upon and an attempt is being made to force a policy into law which they regard as disastrous for themselves and involving ruin for future generations.

An instance of the manner in which a Government can with advantage take a course such as I have suggested is to be found in the way in which disestablishment for Wales was finally passed. I was one of those who did my best to fight the Bill. I have always believed that

Establishment is a good thing for the Church and still more for the State. On these grounds I joined with those who resisted the measure. Its passage, however, became inevitable when it was clear that it was demanded by so great a majority of the Welsh people. Not only was it made easier to place the Bill upon the Statute Book because of the various concessions which were made, but it became apparent to many that in its new form it would give an opportunity to the Church in Wales to reconstitute itself and to carry on its work with vastly increased vigour and effect. This gave the Bill a very different atmosphere from that which was provided for the Home Rule Bill, and I do not think it is unfair to argue that the successful working of the Welsh Act arises out of the recognition by Mr. Lloyd George's Government of the views and needs of the members of the Established Church in Wales. I for one believe that the measure of success which has attended the Act is due almost entirely to their wise and conciliatory methods, which were in themselves exactly the opposite to those which were adopted in regard to Ulster and Home Rule.

PART III

THE GREAT WAR AND AFTER

CHAPTER XIII

THE WAR AND CONSCRIPTION

DOMESTIC controversies, though they seemed to be at the time, and no doubt were, of grave importance, were swept aside in August, 1914. The only thing that mattered was the defeat of the Central Powers. It is not necessary for me to give my own recollections of the days immediately preceding the Declaration of War and following it. As everybody knows, all kind of rumours were flying about, and it was decided at one of our "Shadow" Cabinet meetings to write the now famous letter to the Prime Minister. It is an awful thing to take action which you know must result in War, which will involve the fate of many of those you care for most. Of course our own responsibility was second to that of the Government, but nevertheless it made those days very dreadful. Nobody who has been through experiences of the kind is ever likely to forget them. When War was declared it became, of course, the duty of everyone to do everything they could to help the Government. We all took part in the work allotted to us, and found many other tasks which we could usefully perform. Indeed, there was plenty to do and no excuse for anybody to be idle, if he wished to serve.

I had an interesting experience on the day Lord

Kitchener was sworn in as Secretary of State for War. When I reached my rooms in St. James's Street, where I was temporarily residing, I found an old friend waiting for me. He told me he had come from Lord Kitchener, who wished to see me at once. It was then past 7.30 and I had a dinner engagement, which I at once put off by telephone, and went immediately to Mr. Ralli's house in Belgrave Square, where Lord Kitchener was staying. He had just gone up to dress for dinner, and had left word that I was to see him in his bedroom. I vividly remember the impression made upon me by that splendid specimen of the British race, who, at this supreme moment, when he had just been taken off the ship and sworn in as Secretary of State, was as cool and collected as if nothing at all had happened.

He had sent for me to ask some questions about the capacity of the country to provide the necessary number of men, and he proceeded, while he continued his dressing, to put a series of clear, concise questions to me. I found the greatest difficulty in convincing him that the Territorials could be relied upon to form a very useful force if certain steps were taken. I always believed that he thought he could not calculate upon them being sufficiently trained to be relied upon as a fighting force. However, his complete command of the situation, and his unhesitating decision as to the numbers he would require, all served to add to the confidence I had always felt in him, and to make me feel certain that we had the right man in the right place.

When we went downstairs two amusing incidents occurred. The first was when one of his staff said : " Have you got your Cabinet keys, sir ? " to which he replied : " Cabinet keys ? No, of course I haven't got any keys." For a few moments there was a strained silence, as Cabinet keys are very sacred things and are supposed to be kept in the safest possible keeping. The crisis was averted

by his staff officer, the gallant Col. FitzGerald, who devoted his life to his service. He said in a most ordinary tone: "It's all right; I took the keys. I have them." By this time it had grown late, and it was necessary for him to leave for his dinner. All of a sudden it was discovered that he had not enough change to pay for his cab. It will be remembered that during those two or three days it was very difficult to obtain change, and many men who could have commanded millions found themselves unable to produce the amount of a cab-fare, as in this case. Eventually a sufficient number of shillings and sixpences was contributed to enable him to get under way! I, of course, frequently saw him after that, and, so far as I know, he was always the same: confident, resourceful, determined, and seemed to be imbued with unlimited faith.

I shall never forget the War Office in the days which followed. Like thousands of others, I offered my services as an old Yeoman who had kept in touch with his work. My offer was politely declined. I had, however, occasion to visit the War Office very often on many different missions, and it was always the same. The great corridors were packed to suffocation with officers of all ranks and people of all kinds, but it was wonderful how soon order was evolved out of all this chaos, and the great machine set going. It always seemed to me, however, that there was a failure at the moment to appreciate the value of outside help.

I was connected with a Company which was very anxious to assist the Government, and believed they could produce the butts of rifles and manufacture springs, and so on. They could not get access to the authorities in Whitehall, so they came to me for assistance. It was, however, in vain. Their offer was turned down. It was some considerable time before they were employed, though they were eventually kept going night and day in manufacturing munitions of war. I certainly have no desire

to be critical. I realized at the time, as I realize now, how tremendous were the demands of all kinds made upon the War Office, and when one remembers that they had suddenly to raise and equip an army infinitely greater than anything they had ever, in their wildest dreams, contemplated would be required, it is not to be wondered that mistakes were made at first, and that the outside world should have been impatient of delay, not appreciating the magnitude of the task with which they were confronted.

I had enjoyed the friendship of Sir John French, as he then was, for many years, and I went to see him at the Horse Guards to bid him good-bye. He, too, was full of confidence and cheeriness, and he told me that he hoped I would pay him a visit in France and see how things were going on.

I do not think that, at that time, anybody could possibly have realized the supreme character of the War in which we were engaged, or the length of time which must elapse before victory could be obtained. The tragic death of Sir James Grierson on his way to the Front led to his place being filled by another old and distinguished friend who was at Harrow with me—Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien. I happened to pass through Salisbury the day he was appointed, and I met him and his wife when they were making certain purchases preparatory to his departure. He, like all other great soldiers who were suddenly called upon to take their part in the immense world struggle, was quite satisfied that there could only be one end. The opportunities I had of meeting many of those who were required to play leading parts in the struggle enabled me to go about my recruiting work in my own county with first-hand information as to the views and opinions of those upon whose actions so largely depended the conduct of events. I found this a very great help, as it was no easy matter for one who was too old and infirm to go himself to make

speeches to crowded meetings inviting others to give up employment and offer themselves and their lives in defence of their country. It was good to be able to tell them I had seen and talked to men whom I knew would well and gallantly lead them.

Some time before the outbreak of war, a committee had been formed of members of the Opposition called the Unionist Business Committee. Its duty was to arrange a programme of work for the Opposition, and to allocate it to different members of the Party. Our Leader thought it would be a good thing if a close link was established between this committee and the Front Bench, and he therefore asked me to take the chairmanship of it.

On the outbreak of war our work became much more difficult, and, important as it was, it was not easy at first sight to see what particular line members of the Opposition ought to take. We discussed many questions at different times and did, I think, some useful work. By far the most important duty we performed was in connection with the supply of munitions of war. At one of our meetings a member declared that he had information which convinced him that we were unduly short of some of the most necessary requirements. He believed that unless some steps were taken, the gravest results would follow. I decided that this was so serious a question that it could not be dealt with except under the direct guidance of the Leader of the Party. Before we approached him it was necessary to be quite certain of our ground. I therefore recommended that a small committee of three experts should be appointed to examine the evidence and to report. Before the inquiry was terminated I was, unfortunately, taken ill. I had impressed upon every member of the committee that not a word must be said until the evidence was complete and our Leader had been informed. One member, however, acting on his own

initiative, put a leading question on the Paper of the House, and this was, I believe, the first public inkling of the danger to which we were exposed. The whole question was, of course, at once taken up by Mr. Bonar Law, and effectually dealt with. I only mention this incident because it was claimed that the question of the supply of munitions, which led ultimately to the fall of the Liberal Government and the creation of the first Coalition Ministry, was due to information obtained in other quarters. As I am certain that the proceedings on our committee were long previous to any information obtained elsewhere, I think it right to state that the credit of the discovery, with all its momentous consequences, belongs to those few members of the Opposition who gave so much industry and ability to the examination of this question.

This is history now, and there is no need to dwell upon it. But it is fair that this fact, which, so far as I know, has never been made public before, should be recorded, as it is greatly to the credit of a few private members, and by the way it was handled proves that the Opposition were not seeking any party advantage, but were thinking solely of the good of their country.

The fall of the Liberal Government and the formation of the first Coalition came very suddenly. I was laid up, ill, at Rood Ashton, and had made up my mind that, if invited, I would not join the Government, as I thought I could be of more use as a private member. I also doubted whether I was in good enough health to be justified in taking office. However, the Chief Whip of our Party, Lord Edmund Talbot, came down to see me, conveying a very pressing request from the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, and from my own Leader, Mr. Bonar Law, that I would join the Administration. The Prime Minister showed his invariable kindness and consideration by sending a message to me that I could select one of the offices with

which I was thoroughly familiar, as this would probably entail less labour than going to a new department.

Notwithstanding the offer, I told Lord Edmund that nothing would induce me to join the Government, but that I would support it with all the power and influence I possessed. Nevertheless he persisted, and announced that he would not leave the house till I had consented. The result of his perseverance was that I wrote a letter which he took back to the Prime Minister, telling him I would accept the Local Government Board, of course as a Member of the Cabinet. As events turned out, the work of this department proved to be much more varied and extensive than either the Prime Minister or I had anticipated. Amongst the many duties which fell to my lot was the preparation and passing through Parliament of the Conscription Acts. In the first of these Bills Mr. Bonar Law, who was then Colonial Secretary, shared the responsibility in the House of Commons, but he had many other duties to perform, and he left the conduct of the measure very largely to me. The origin of this Act is very interesting. Much has been written about the action of the Government in regard to it with which I am unable to agree. I believe that my recollection of the story from beginning to end is absolutely reliable. At all events, I present it as I remember it, and as I believe it proceeded step by step to its ultimate conclusion.

Personally I was always in favour of conscription, and, so far as I know, my views were shared by many of my colleagues. However, it was obvious that much had to be done before we could justify its adoption. It became my duty at the Local Government Board to point out that we ought, in any case, to have a register of all the available strength in the country. I believed we ought to have a kind of bank-book showing our resources, and I secured the approval of the Cabinet

to a measure setting up a National Register of our population. This Bill, when introduced, was challenged in the House of Commons on the grounds that it was intended as a first step towards compulsion—a view which was very strongly resisted, and properly, by the Prime Minister. It was well known that some of us were in favour of conscription, but it was perfectly true that this measure, though in my opinion necessary before conscription could be proposed in Parliament, might also have shown that it was neither necessary not practicable. It was therefore incorrect to argue that registration must be inevitably followed by compulsory service. I felt at the time, and I feel now, that Mr. Asquith was absolutely justified in the attitude he adopted. Mr. Asquith does not require my defence, but everybody knows that he would not have made so emphatic a statement if he had not been quite certain of his facts.

My reasons for believing that we must have conscription were two-fold. First, I held that we could not get the large number of men we required without it. Secondly, I thought it most unfair that men should be taken for service, irrespective of age or of their personal responsibilities, leaving at home others who declined to go, younger than they or without their responsibilities. Conscientious objectors had to be reckoned with, but there were many others who, for various and quite honourable reasons, were not prepared to volunteer, but were quite willing to go, if ordered. Compulsion, in my opinion, was the only way out of this difficulty. It was obvious from the beginning that conscription could not be adopted unless Lord Kitchener felt it to be really necessary. He had, for some considerable time, grave doubts. They were not caused through fear of unpopularity, for he knew no fear, but he did not realize that many married men with heavy responsibilities were

going while younger men with no responsibilities were remaining at home.

I remember on one occasion driving through London with him and asking him when he intended to demand conscription. He told me he did not think the time had yet arrived to make the call. It happened to be the luncheon hour and the streets were full of young men who were going to and from their midday meal. I pointed them out to him and asked him if he was content that those whom he saw should remain at home whilst much older men were fighting. He replied in his characteristic manner that they were escaping service, but would be taken directly they were wanted. I pointed out to him that this could only be done by Act of Parliament, that he would have to meet many opponents of conscription who honestly believed it to be wholly inconsistent with British ideals to force men to fight, and that he would have a very stiff controversy to face before he could secure a Conscription Act. I shall never forget the expression which came over his face when I said this. I almost believe that this view of the case had never occurred to him before. I may be wrong. He may have thought about it, may even have discussed it, but it may well be that the spectacle of hundreds of young fellows walking the streets, combined with my assurance that he would not be able to take them compulsorily without a severe Parliamentary fight, convinced him that some measure of the kind was necessary. His objection to compulsory service was, as I have said, not political, and was certainly not due to any fear of the effect upon his personal popularity. It was first due to his experience of compulsion in other parts of the world. Secondly, with that almost prophetic foresight which he seemed to possess, he believed that compulsion would be attended by the insertion of so many exemptions during the passage

of the Bill that it would result in almost as many and as great injustices as were experienced under the voluntary system. I discussed this aspect of the case with him on several occasions. Bearing in mind that he had no knowledge of Parliamentary methods—indeed, he shrank from them with positive dislike—it is quite remarkable to realize to-day how accurate his view was in this respect.

However, when he had made up his mind that conscription was necessary he never wavered. Directly he asked for it the Cabinet gave it to him. He did me the great honour to ask me to preside over the committee which the Prime Minister had appointed to prepare the Bill, and to take charge of the measure in Parliament. I had not realized how great were the difficulties until I sat on this committee. It is, of course, very easy to lay down the broad general principle that every male of sound health should do a period of military service in one of the three fighting forces. In a country such as ours this would be an impossible scheme, as we should have many thousands more men than we could train satisfactorily. I am not now considering the fact that a great many of our people have a rooted dislike to anything resembling compulsion, but only what I consider to be the practical difficulties in the way of its adoption. Apart from the one I have already described, I believe it to be a fact, though I have not investigated the matter lately, that in nearly every country where conscription has been adopted there are forms of exemption, either recognized by law or winked at by the authorities, which cause injustice and therefore dissatisfaction. In our case, where the proposal was quite novel, and had never really been thought out since the days of Pitt, it was very soon apparent that all kinds of difficulties had to be overcome, unless it was decided to have no exemptions at all, except-

ing on the score of physical disability. Looking back with the wisdom which comes after the event, I cannot help believing this would have been the wisest course. At all events it would have given the least embarrassment to those who had to carry out the Acts, though no doubt it would have caused a great deal of Parliamentary difficulty. I must say that when the question was raised in Parliament of "the only son of his mother and she a widow," and the Government were asked if they intended to take this man away, and when it was found that Pitt had not contemplated it, and as it was believed that it would never be necessary to have to resort to this extreme measure, it was only natural that the policy of exemption should be accepted. Any Government situated as we were would have done the same.

I hope with all my heart, as I am sure does everyone, that it will never again be necessary to have to resort to similar measures; but it is surely desirable that the experiences gained during those awful years should be placed on record, so that the statesmen of the future may have them as a guide for any legislation they may have to enact. My own belief is that if conscription ever again becomes necessary, a law for the purpose should be ordained, and that exemptions should either not be inserted at all, or, if this be impossible, they should be limited to very special cases in which the conditions make it practically impossible for the man to be called up for service.

The task thrown upon the local tribunals, to whom it was left to decide doubtful cases, was one of infinite perplexity, and exposed them to trials of a very severe nature. I always felt that it was not fair for Parliament to throw this responsibility upon local committees, and as local committees must necessarily vary in their views and practice, the unfortunate result arises that unjust

conditions are established as between the same classes of the people in different parts of the country.

Perhaps I may take the opportunity of making one or two observations respecting the Local Government Board, in which I served as Under-Secretary and President for some fourteen years. Under its former name it has ceased to exist. It is now known as the Ministry of Health. This change has never met with my approval, because I think it is "putting the cart before the horse." The health of the community is unquestionably of the first importance, but the steps which are taken to ensure health are dependent upon the intelligence and responsibility which are possessed by the local authorities. Therefore, in my opinion, some such name as "The Ministry of Internal Government" would have been a much more appropriate title for the department.

The use of the word "Board" was, I always thought, most misleading. The Board of Trade, Board of Education, and so on, are composed of all kinds of people who never meet. The Minister has absolute power and control. He never summons his Board, even as a matter of compliment, so though there may have been some reason for the use of the word originally, it has long since passed away. The best plan would be to coin some common title which would describe the different Ministers, as in the case of the Air Department, created during the War, and of which the chief is a Secretary of State. All the heads of the great departments should be Secretaries of State, or if it is thought desirable to discriminate between one department and another, they might be divided into Secretaries of State and Ministers, but the title of President of a Board which never meets, and has no power or responsibility, is ridiculous.

It is not merely a question of emolument. It concerns something far more important. It leads to a distinction

in salaries which is wholly unjustifiable, and to a difference in the view taken by the public as to certain offices. The distinction should be abolished because it leads to unfortunate results. For instance, a man may be well suited to the work of a particular department and have been appointed to it. He may have become familiar with his surroundings and be doing excellent work. He suddenly finds that an office of higher status, and possibly higher emolument, is vacant. He naturally objects to seeing a junior Minister put over his head. Consequently his claims to "promotion" are pressed, and the Prime Minister, of course, feels that he cannot overlook them. In my judgment it is quite easy to show that this system has worked very badly, and that some reform such as I have indicated ought to be adopted in the interests of the State. I hope that one day, when some Government has a little time to devote to these matters, steps will be taken to carry out these much needed administrative reforms and to fix equal salaries, with allowances in the case of those who have special entertaining duties.

The old Local Government Board was a very interesting department. I served there as Under-Secretary, as President in Lord Salisbury's Administration in 1900, and in the first Coalition Government. I have always held that there are very few Bills which do not, in one way or another, affect it. The reason is not far to seek. Our two systems of administration, central and local government, are so closely intermingled that it is almost impossible for a department, even like the Treasury, to introduce a Bill without, at one stage or another, consulting the department concerned with local government. Still more remarkable is it that, when it fell to the lot of the Government to bring in conscription, it was not only necessary to consult this department, but without its aid,

I venture to say, it would have been impossible to pass the Bill through Parliament.

There are many other services which the L.G.B. are called upon to render to the State, apart altogether from the general question of legislation. When Lord Derby started his great scheme for securing recruits by voluntary effort, it was to my department that he came for advice as to its organization throughout the country. It was the L.G.B. that brought into existence the tribunals which were set up throughout the country in order to decide how claims for exemption were to be considered and dealt with.

One of the most difficult and novel questions, among others of interest and importance, which came under my notice whilst in this department was the rise in the price of food. To some extent, of course, this rise was inevitable, but I am afraid it cannot be denied that in certain cases advantage was taken to push the prices higher than was justifiable. I came across many instances of this, in the course of my travels about the country, which led me to believe that the difficulties of the times were being utilized in order to obtain a bigger price for goods than was necessary to give a fair profit.

I confess I was always against food-control and rationing, because I did not believe it would be possible to apply any system of the kind with equality throughout the country. But I give all honour to the Food Ministers, who undoubtedly rendered immense services by controlling the supplies, distributing them with great fairness throughout the country, and instituting and carrying out a system of rationing which, though no doubt it imposed great suffering upon many people, served to conserve our resources and enabled us to get through those trying times.

I had a notion of my own, which I discussed with some of my colleagues, but it did not find favour, though I still

believe that if it had been tried at the beginning it would have had some effect in preventing extreme cases of profiteering. I suggested that in every district certain responsible persons should be appointed, who could hold sittings and hear cases brought before them by aggrieved purchasers. I believe it would have been possible to find a sufficient number of men who would have done this work gratuitously, just as, subsequently, they provided us with Military Service Tribunals. I believe that, in the early days of the food shortage, if the sellers had known that they might have to appear before some Local Assessor and be required to give reasons for the prices they were charging it would have acted as a deterrent upon them and a better level would have been obtained. Of course, it would have needed a short Act of Parliament giving the Assessors power to hear evidence on oath, and my suggestion was that they should report any bad cases to the Board of Trade, and, subject to the granting of an appeal, the Government should have had power to prosecute for the offence of overcharging.

There may have been, and probably are, many people who regard this as a fantastic proposal, but I discussed it very frequently with representative residents in country and town, and I obtained almost unanimous support, many being willing to do the work as they were unable to do other war work. I believe the creation of a "court" of this kind would have had a very salutary effect and would have made vendors reflect before they charged more than was essential to secure for them a reasonable profit.

These troubles are not over even now, in peace time, and there is a very widespread view that the middleman gets a very undue share of the profit. These questions were, of course, new to us and to the community. There were no precedents to guide us, no machinery to our hand, and it is not to be wondered that many mistakes were made,

and many troubles arose which might perhaps have been avoided. Looking back upon those days, in my opinion, Ministers and those acting under them dealt with an extraordinary situation in a remarkably successful way. It is very easy to criticize and find fault. It is much more difficult to find the right course to take when one is surrounded by difficulties which are increasing every day, and when there is no past experience on which one can fall back for guidance and assistance.

It is well known that the patience and forbearance and good-will of our people are perfectly wonderful, and certainly these were exemplified in the noblest possible manner by the way in which all accepted the restrictions imposed upon them. Though, no doubt, they grumbled from time to time when they thought the regulations too severe and unnecessary, they ceased when they found that a case was made out, and bore their sufferings with the utmost good temper and fortitude.

Scores of instances occur to me, but I will only mention one—the case of a big, strong man who was over sixty and in a humble position of life. He began steadily to lose weight, and at one time looked very ill. I asked him what was the matter, and he told me that it was not the shortage of food in general, but the character of the bread he had to eat. He was a great consumer of this article of food, and he said that until he could get enough good white bread he would not recover his health. Whether his opinion, from the point of view of health, was well founded or not, I cannot say. Holding that brown bread and wholemeal bread are by far the most wholesome articles of diet for human beings, I find it very difficult to believe that he was suffering from this cause. However, he believed it, and no argument could shake him. He continued to lose weight, and he continued to look as if he were in failing health, until the end of the War. Happily,

as soon as it was possible to revert to ordinary bread, he recovered and is, I am glad to say, to-day strong and well.

I have often wondered whether it was the result of imagination, coupled with being compelled to abandon an old custom, or whether it is really the case that certain people begin to fail as soon as they are called upon to give up creature comforts to which, throughout all their lives, they have been accustomed. So far as I know, whatever may be the case with certain individuals, the health of the community was well maintained, and I believe that the great majority of people learned from the privations of war that they could, with advantage to themselves, live healthily and well on less food than that to which they had been accustomed in times of plenty.

There was another duty undertaken by the Local Government Board before I joined it in 1915 of a totally different character. It fell to its lot, for some mysterious reason, to be charged with the care of the thousands of Belgians who were refugees from their own country and had come over here for shelter. They were boarded all over the country, and it was the duty of the department to see that they were properly cared for, and that everything possible was done to lessen their sufferings. They were of all classes, mainly, of course, women and children, but there were a certain number of older men who were unable to fight. At that time they had a very gloomy prospect before them, and it was only the example of their heroic King and Queen which inspired them to look forward with hope, if not with confidence, to the future. They accepted with real gratitude the provision made for them here, and it was one of my most interesting duties to go round from time to time and inspect their quarters, from the east and centre of London as far away as Glasgow. Everybody charged with their care acted with energy and devotion, and many a sacrifice was made, many a quiet

act of kindness performed, which tended to brighten their lives, lighten their burdens, and help them to maintain their health and strength, so that when the time came and their country was free from invasion they would be able to return to their own homes. I feel sure that now they are restored to their normal lives and occupations, they must entertain very kindly feelings for the British men and women who strove so hard to make their exile as free from pain as it was possible to do. At all events, we should be profoundly grateful to those of our countrymen who laboured so incessantly in this good work.

Alas! nearly all my colleagues at the Local Government Board have left. Of the chief officials, there are, I think, a very few remaining who worked with me. I cannot omit to say a word in reference to their single-minded devotion to duty during those strenuous days when the department was called upon to perform duties very different from any which had fallen to their lot before, forced to face new problems and find immediate remedies. Committees innumerable were formed, over many of which either I or the Under-Secretary, Mr. Hayes Fisher, afterwards Lord Downham, presided. I think there was hardly a day in the week when at least one, if not two or three, of the committees met, and this meant for the permanent officials work from very early in the day to very late at night in order to be ready for the next day's work. They never spared themselves, and as my share in the work was very slight, and as I derived full credit from the plans they evolved, it is, I hope, not amiss that I should now offer them all my heartfelt thanks.

CHAPTER XIV

THE EMPIRE AND THE WAR

I WENT to the Colonial Office in the autumn of 1916 at a time of quite exceptional interest, when the strain and stress of the War were becoming acute and when it was evident that we should require all the resources which we could command in the Empire to secure victory.

At my first interview with the Prime Minister it was decided that we should summon a Conference of representatives of the Overseas Dominions and India at the earliest possible date. This was the origin of that most interesting and important series of Imperial Councils in 1917 and 1918, which I shall describe later on.

Before I refer to these meetings, it is worth while for me to say something of what I found to be happening in the British Empire overseas when I took up office as Secretary of State, and what I had to do until the Armistice. It was a case of constantly making demands, greater as the crisis deepened, for help of all kinds—men, money, material and ships. Had this been all, I should have had no great anxiety. Every appeal was readily responded to, whether I sent it to the self-governing Dominions, or to the Colonies or Protectorates. But it was not all. The submarine became an increasingly serious menace, transport was daily more difficult. How could the Overseas Governments carry on their task and raise the necessary funds, as they saw their man-power depleted, their trade restricted and sometimes brought to a standstill for want of tonnage and transport? The result was that there were

retained overseas many articles of food and other supplies which would normally have come here. This delay, of course, meant serious financial loss, and it made the burden of providing and equipping large fighting forces infinitely greater than it would otherwise have been. The courage and patience with which the representatives of the Dominions and Colonies met these harassing demands upon their reserves filled me with unqualified admiration.

I remember especially a case of a ship laden with meat from New Zealand, which at the time caused a good deal of irritation. She arrived at Plymouth. Owing to difficulties to which I need not refer, instead of being docked and unloaded there and the cargo transmitted to London, she was sent on to the London Docks and was sunk on the way. The Prime Minister of New Zealand, who was here at the time, was at first inclined to regard it as a serious grievance, but he made himself acquainted with all the facts of the case, having been put by me in communication with the various authorities, and he took in this, as in every other trying incident, the most statesmanlike, broad-minded view of the situation, and resolved, quite simply, to aim at redoubling New Zealand's efforts to aid the Mother Country. In this he was splendidly backed by his colleagues and the people of the Dominion.

It was the same with respect to other parts of the Empire. Canada had her difficulties, Australia, South Africa and Newfoundland had theirs. Many of the Colonies were driven almost to desperation by their inability to export, and therefore receive payment for, the products upon which they depended for a livelihood. Painful, almost heart-breaking were many of the communications, by cable or dispatch, from all over the world. My task was indeed a trying one, as I had to keep begging, sometimes Ministers in the Dominions, sometimes the Colonial Governments, to secure yet a greater measure of co-operation from their

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE OF 1917.

Names from left to right. Back row: Sir S. P. Sinha; Lieut.-Col. W. Dally Jones; Hon. R. Rogers; The Right Hon. Sir James Meston; The Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain; The Maharajah Ganga Singh; Mr. E. J. Harding; Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland; Sir Henry Lambert. Front Row: Sir Joseph Ward; Hon. Sir George H. Perley; The Right Hon. J. C. Smuts; The Right Hon. Sir R. L. Borden; The Right Hon. Walter H. Long; The Right Hon. W. F. Massey; The Right Hon. Sir E. P. Morris; The Right Hon. J. D. Hagen.

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various communities, and encourage them to bear as best they could the awful sufferings which are inseparable from War.

Fortunately I could point to the fact, a great and glorious one, that the people of the Mother Country were doing their full share, were sending their manhood, aye, and their womanhood too, to the theatres of war to do their allotted part, were bearing without murmur or complaint increased sacrifices and sufferings, and were showing, from highest to lowest, in castle and cottage, in great city and country hamlet, the most undoubted proof of their determination to give freely of all they possessed, rather than endure defeat.

Looking back upon it all, I often wonder how we came through those dark days of 1917 and 1918, and I remember with pride and pleasure the great central fact that the foundation of Victory was the wonderful co-operation in service and sacrifice of every part of the Empire and of all our Peoples. What some of them went through in those days cannot be described and will not, I believe, ever be known to the world.

It is probable that we at the Colonial Office were better able to realize and appreciate the true state of things than was anybody else, for we knew, though the information was often very belated, what was going on in different parts of the Empire and how tragic were the conditions. But if ever there was a case of, " A long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether," this was one, and I believe it was the common sacrifices, common determination and common courage of the men and women of the Empire that did more to win the War than anything else that happened in the long drawn out history of those eventful years.

It is impossible to exaggerate the value of the help which I personally received from the Governors-General of the Dominions, the Prime Ministers and other Ministers,

and the Governors of the Colonies and Protectorates. Each one seemed to vie with the other in throwing the maximum of his weight into this tremendous conflict. Sacrifices were freely made and lightly regarded. The Empire was cast into the fire and came out stronger, greater and more determined for future efforts than it had ever been. In the end it could truly be said that all the Peoples of the Empire had contributed their full share.

What the outcome of the future in reference to the government of the Empire may be, I do not know, but I have always felt that the history of those two years 1917 and 1918 ought to provide most valuable data upon which to base any future Imperial Constitution. We had no written charter, but we never had any serious difficulty amongst ourselves. We had our troubles, and our differences of opinion, of course, but we were all animated by a common desire, we all had the same object in view, and I think I may say that triumphant success crowned our efforts.

One word may I say for the Colonial Office. It has often been stated in uninformed quarters that that great department is unsympathetic to the Dominions and Colonies, and is officered by men who have no knowledge of the various parts of the Empire, and who are therefore quite out of touch with them. This is wholly untrue. During those two years there were in the Colonial Office many distinguished public servants, from that great ex-civil servant, Sir George Fiddes, downwards, who had spent many years in different parts of the Empire, and therefore possessed a great store of knowledge and experience which enabled them to give the Government invaluable help in the discharge of its difficult tasks.

This is the place to mention a change of great importance which I made on my arrival at the Colonial Office in relation to the duty of keeping the Dominions informed of the

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE OF 1918.

Names from left to right. Back Row: The Right Hon. Sir W. F. Lloyd; The Right Hon. Sir Joseph Ward; The Right Hon. N. W. Rowell; Sir G. V. Fiddes; Mr. W. A. S. Hewins; Major-General Sir George Aston; Sir S. P. Sinha; Hon. Henry Burton; Hon. J. A. Calder; Sir Henry Lambert; Mr. E. J. Harding. Front Row: Sir Arthur Lee; The Right Hon. W. F. Massey; The Maharajah of Patiala; Sir R. L. Borden; The Right Hon. Walter H. Long; The Right Hon. W. M. Hughes; The Right Hon. J. C. Smuts; The Right Hon. Sir Joseph Cook; The Right Hon. E. S. Montagu.

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progress of events in the War. Before my time there had been no regular system for the transmission of such news. I realized that, owing to the delays, much time must elapse before information by letter or dispatch could reach its destination, even in Canada and Newfoundland. In regard to the more distant Dominions so rapidly did events change that any written news must inevitably be out of date. I therefore proposed to send a telegram every Monday to the Dominions, conveying as much information as was possible by this means. The Cabinet cordially approved my suggestion, and we arranged to send a cable, composed of statements drawn up by each of the Departments chiefly concerned with the conduct of the War. I asked each of my colleagues who presided over these Departments to have a paragraph prepared stating the condition of things from their point of view, and I added a paragraph of my own giving the general impressions of the situation at the moment. I sent this to each of the five Dominions on Monday nights. Consequently, their Governments were enabled to know exactly what the situation was on sea and on land in every theatre of war, what the position was here, and what we believed the prospects to be; in short, they were put in possession every Tuesday morning of everything of importance that we knew on the Monday. I learned from personal assurances which I received from Governors-General how helpful these cables were to them and their Governments.

Having regard to the great demands which we were making upon the Dominions it was of vital importance that their Governments should know exactly how matters stood, and that Ministers should be in a position to talk to their Parliaments in a way which would only be possible so long as they were acquainted with everything that was going on. Consequently, I believe that these cablegrams were of immense use to the Prime Ministers and other

Ministers in enabling them to put their case before their countrymen with the full knowledge that nothing was being kept back and that they knew practically as much as we did here at Home. In drawing up this cable I received valuable assistance from my most capable chief private secretary and great personal friend, Mr. Batterbee.

Now I come to what was perhaps the most interesting development of my term of office as Secretary of State. During the earlier years of the War several of the Dominion Prime Ministers and their colleagues had found time to come to England for brief periods. Thus Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister of Canada, came in 1915, and Mr. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia, during the summer of 1916. When I took up office, Mr. Massey, Prime Minister of New Zealand, and his colleague, Sir Joseph Ward, were on a visit. Needless to say the Government of the day welcomed the opportunity of consulting these statesmen and of talking over questions of pressing importance concerning their own Dominions. But, until Mr. Lloyd George's Government took up office, no attempt had been made, since the War began, to take all parts of the Empire into Council as to the conduct of the War, or to discuss other questions of general importance to the Empire. It was this omission we designed to remedy, and we were successful in arranging Conferences in both 1917 and 1918. The first were attended by Ministers from all the Dominions except Australia, and also (a precedent) by representatives of India. The second was fully representative, as Mr. Hughes and his colleague Mr. (now Sir Joseph) Cook, who had been prevented from coming the previous year by the imminence of a General Election, were able to represent Australia.

Sir Robert Borden for Canada, Mr. Massey and Sir Joseph Ward for New Zealand, and General Smuts for South Africa were present on both occasions. Newfound-

land sent her Prime Minister each time, Sir Edward (now Lord) Morris in 1917, and Sir William Lloyd in 1918.

In each year our meetings were divided up into two separate groups, which came to be known as the "Imperial War Cabinet" and "Imperial War Conference." The Prime Minister presided at the first, and it fell to my lot to be chairman of the second.

I shall never forget my experiences of the first meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet. On previous occasions when Imperial Conferences had met the main questions discussed had been those of, what I may call, internal interest to the Empire—trade, commerce, immigration and the like. Now the dominating question was the War and how to bring it to a definite conclusion. Very early in the War, my distinguished predecessor, Viscount Harcourt, had given, on behalf of the British Government, a definite pledge to the Dominion Governments that they would be consulted as to the terms of Peace, or rather the possible terms of Peace, consequently these formed an important part of our deliberations. But first and foremost came the conduct of the War itself. Our discussions covered almost every conceivable subject connected with its successful prosecution. Important decisions were taken, and Mr. Lloyd George has placed it on record that the strengthening of the British War Cabinet by fresh minds and by new points of view was an immense help. Sir Robert Borden has described the Imperial War Cabinet as a "Cabinet of Governments." It seems to me a happy phrase.

I ought to say something about the discussion that arose here and overseas as to the fate of the German Colonies. At first there had been a tendency to hold that we must abide precisely by the pronouncements that had been made in perfect good faith that we had come into the War to aid our Allies, to secure the restoration

of Belgium, and to preserve the liberties and freedom of Europe, indeed of the world, and that we did not intend to ask for any addition to our territorial possessions. It was urged in consequence that we should announce that no claim would be made on our part for the acquisition by us of the German overseas possessions. The representatives of the Dominions were insistent, however, that the claim ought to be made; that if, and when, the War was won, we should take care that Germany's colonial possessions should never go back to her. In the end I made a declaration at a public luncheon that, whatever happened when Victory had been achieved, it was impossible that the German Colonies should ever be allowed to return to her. I got into a little hot water in the Press over this declaration, and there was not inconsiderable criticism in the House of Commons. In the end my predication proved to be correct, for, as the world knows, the German Colonies have passed away from her and are now entrusted to the Allies, not indeed to form a part of their own territories, but to be taken charge of by them as trustees. The "mandatory system" is not the least interesting feature of the Treaty of Versailles, and one satisfactory aspect of it is the power and willingness of several of the Dominions to become responsible for large areas contiguous to their own countries.

While the Imperial War Cabinet discussed important and urgent matters concerning the conduct of the War, at the Conference we concerned ourselves with the scarcely less important task of thinking for the future. Two matters came uppermost in my mind. First, we began the consideration of the future constitutional relations of the Empire and passed a resolution which will, I think, long be quoted as putting on record, in the plainest terms, the right of the Dominions to be consulted henceforward on all important issues concerning the

IMPERIAL WAR CABINET, 1917.

Names from left to right. Back Row: Captain L. S. Amery; Admiral Sir John Jellicoe; The Right Hon. Sir Edward Carson; The Earl of Derby; Brigadier-General F. B. Maurice; Lieut.-Col. Sir M. P. A. Hankey; Mr. H. C. M. Lambert; Major L. Storr. Middle Row: Sir S. P. Sinha; The Maharajah Ganga Singh Bahadur; The Right Hon. Sir James Meston; The Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain; The Right Hon. Lord Robert Cecil; The Right Hon. Walter H. Long; The Right Hon. Sir Joseph Ward; Hon. George H. Perley; Hon. R. Rogers; Hon. J. D. Hagen. Front Row: The Right Hon. A. Henderson; Viscount Milner; Earl Curzon of Kedleston; The Right Hon. A. Bonar Law; The Right Hon. D. Lloyd George; The Right Hon. Sir R. L. Borden; The Right Hon. W. F. Massey; The Right Hon. J. C. Smuts.

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foreign policy of the Empire. The resolution laid down that any readjustment of the constitutional relations of the component parts of the Empire after the War: "should recognize the right of the Dominions and of India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and foreign relations" and "should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several Governments may determine."

This resolution is of exceptional interest for another reason also. It was designed as a negation, once and for all, of the schemes advocated, with much brilliance in various quarters, for a single Imperial Parliament, with legislative and taxing powers over all the nations of the British Commonwealth.

Secondly, I am proud to think that we passed a unanimous resolution concerning Imperial Preference.

Preference has long been in favour in the Dominions, but at all preceding Conferences the question had been pushed aside by the representatives of the British Government. There was a very strong feeling, no doubt augmented by the experiences of the War, that the time had come when there should be definite assurances given by the British Government that, so far as was consistent with our fiscal policy, every legitimate opportunity should be taken to give the Dominions and Colonies similar advantages to those which they had granted us. I confess I was very gratified when, after considerable discussion, a resolution in favour of preferential arrangements was carried unanimously by the Conference, and when our own Parliament gave effect to it in 1919 by a tariff preference on practically all articles which are subject to duty here.

Unless the information which reached me is quite

unreliable, and I have no reason to believe this to be the case, the attitude of the Overseas Empire to this question had undergone a great change in recent times. The day was when we were constantly told: "We are willing to give you this preference, we do not ask for anything in return"; but to-day I believe the feeling is growing, especially in business circles, though with no diminution of loyalty and devotion to the Mother Country, that there must be genuine and thorough reciprocity. I know that in some quarters there is an openly expressed desire that everything of the kind should be abandoned, and that what is called the "McKenna Tariff," instituted during the War, should be abolished. My personal acquaintance and friendship with statesmen overseas convinces me that they would regard such an act on the part of the Mother Country as most unfair, almost hostile, and certainly injurious to the best interests of the Empire as a whole. Human nature being what it is, once the feeling is created that the Mother Country is not behaving as she ought by the other parts of the Empire, it is only natural that these young and growing countries should look elsewhere for their trade, and this must have the effect of weakening our Imperial relations instead of strengthening them, and of driving wedges into our Union instead of drawing us closer together, as ought surely to be the object of everybody who believes that this Empire can be self-supporting and capable of self-defence.

The Imperial War Conference of 1917 was followed by the appointment of a Cabinet committee whose business was to ascertain the power of the Empire to maintain itself and to supply its own needs. Our inquiries revealed the most startling facts. I do not believe that anyone had realized before how immense are our resources, or to what extent, if we can only devise a working plan, we can find practically everything within the Empire

that we require in the way of food and raw materials and for purposes of self-defence.

We had at that time the advantage of the assistance of Mr. Hewins, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies. He was chairman of a sub-committee whose duty it was to prepare all figures, collate them and present them from time to time in reports which were considered by the main committee. This information provided at first-hand really reliable data as to the Imperial position. An immense amount of knowledge was thus acquired and many reports prepared and approved by the committee.

These, in turn, were considered by the Imperial War Conference of 1918 and important resolutions, founded upon them, were passed. I have always felt that these resolutions were rather lost sight of as a result of the changed conditions which followed on the Armistice.

With the knowledge which we have now, surely it ought to be our aim and object to take advantage of every opportunity to strengthen the ties which bind the various parts of the Empire and to secure such interchange of trade and business as will make its citizens realize what the Empire really is and how immense are its resources.

A most important question was raised at the Imperial Conference in 1917 by Sir Robert Borden on behalf of Canada. He demanded that the embargo on Canadian cattle resulting from the Act of 1896, to which I have referred in another chapter, should be entirely withdrawn. He claimed that in the twenty-five years which had passed there had not been a single case of disease in Canadian cattle, that they had a clean bill of health and they regarded the prohibition of imports as a slur upon their agricultural character.

He made it quite clear that they felt very strongly upon the subject and that they must insist upon acquiescence in their views. If this question had not been settled

in the Conference, I think there is no doubt whatever that he would have raised it in the Imperial War Cabinet.

As Secretary of State I had, of course, no direct connection with the matter, which was one for the consideration of the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Prothero, now Lord Ernle. Accordingly a day was fixed for discussion of the resolution of which Sir Robert had given notice, and Mr. Prothero was summoned to attend. The Canadian contention was, in my opinion, absolutely unassailable. Their case was greatly strengthened by Sir Robert Borden, who made it clear that if, in the opinion of our Government, it was desirable to prohibit the importation of cattle from across the sea on grounds other than those of health, then he would offer no objection on the part of his own country, and he would not in any way attempt to challenge our right to do what we thought best for our own people. He could not, however, allow a law, based upon disease which did not exist, to remain, without making a demand for its repeal.

Mr. Prothero frankly admitted, as I think any Minister in his place must have done, that the facts were as claimed by Sir Robert Borden. He pointed out, however, that there were various practical difficulties; the resolution was carried, and from this resulted the famous "pledge" of which so much has subsequently been heard.

Mr. Prothero and I have been severely criticized by those who represent the breeders and stock-owners of this country for the line we took. I, at all events, am quite unrepentant. I believe the original policy of 1896 was thoroughly justified. In similar circumstances I would act again as I acted then. On the other hand, I maintain that it was impossible to resist Sir Robert's contention that immunity from disease for a quarter of a century had made it impossible to adhere to the old policy.

It is easy to be wise after the event. I think perhaps

we should have done better if we had made it clear that, while we were ready to abandon all suggestion of disease among Canadian cattle, we had to consider very carefully what would be the effect of wholesale introduction upon the breeding and stock-raising industry. In those parts of the country where the farmers are mainly engaged in fattening stock for market they are glad to be able to buy big Canadian stores, which readily grow into fat beasts when fed in the yards and upon our pastures. It could not, therefore, be said that the agricultural community were absolutely united on the subject. There was also a small section of the community, not by any means confined to agriculturists, who believed that the introduction of Canadian stock would cheapen the supply of meat. I never, myself, held this view, and I don't believe there is any foundation for it. Certainly so far nothing has happened to justify it.

On the other hand, the great majority of British farmers, engaged as they are, either in breeding or raising stock, were very anxious that the regulations should be maintained. They were moved, not so much by the desire to limit competition, but because they have a feeling of alarm that if cattle come from countries where there are immense ranches and where supervision is not easy, a risk of disease is always present. From this feeling there springs an anxiety which destroys confidence and may easily harm what is a most profitable and important branch of our national industry. I think it would have been possible to have reached a compromise, if efforts had been made in this direction without delay. Possibly it would have been wiser if we had at the time made it clear that this would be the solution which we would favour.

Of this, at all events, I am quite certain. If the British Minister at the Conference had refused to listen to Sir Robert's claim and had taken refuge in the statement

that though there had been no evidence of disease all these years, we intended to adhere to the regulations as a measure of extreme caution, Sir Robert would have carried the discussion on to the Cabinet, and we should have been overruled. Consequently, in my judgment, subject only perhaps to the hypercritical suggestion which I have made, I am confident that Mr. Prothero took the line which was, not only right, but the only one possible in the circumstances.

It had been apparent that action was required to improve the arrangements for migration from one part of the Empire to another. Up to quite recent times there had been many unfortunate cases in which migrants had failed altogether to achieve their object. If this state of things was not to continue, we had to frame some measure which would put things on a more satisfactory basis for the future. It was necessary to enable would-be emigrants to ascertain, before they made up their minds where they would like to go, what were the conditions in the various Dominions and Colonies, and what prospect they had of making a future for themselves. Needless to say there was no desire on the part of the Government to force men and women to leave their homeland. Quite the contrary. But we felt that we ought to facilitate the operation for all those who desired to go, and to do everything in our power to help them to make a good start in their new country.

It became my business to prepare a measure, and to do what I could to obtain for it general acceptance at the hands of the representatives of the Overseas Empire. In the measure (as drafted) there were some provisions which were not satisfactory. I had to reconsider it and make certain changes, but it was, I think, in a satisfactory condition before I left. With the addition of some important conditions connected with finance, which were not

possible for me to obtain so soon after the War, a Bill was ultimately produced by Lord Milner, who succeeded me as Secretary of State, and Mr. Amery, who was Under-Secretary, and it passed into law.

This established what is known as the Overseas Committee, with headquarters at the Colonial Office, having as vice-chairman Mr. Macnaughten, one of the assistant Under-Secretaries who had played a great part in the preparation of the measure. This Act of Parliament was cordially welcomed, and if it works successfully—and there is every reason to believe that it will—it means that the surplus population here, for whom it is impossible to find suitable openings, will be able, under good auspices, to find new homes for themselves within the Empire.

Within a very few weeks of my going to the Colonial Office my wife and I suffered the irreparable loss of our eldest son, who was commanding the 56th Brigade. He was a Major and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel in the Royal Scots Greys, devoted to his regiment and, I have every reason to know, was regarded as a first-class cavalry officer of the very finest type. He was wonderfully popular with both officers and men, and being a very fine horseman, was thoroughly at home in a cavalry regiment. However, when volunteers were called for to command some of the new infantry Battalions, he felt that he ought to offer his services as, in his opinion, the war was mainly one for infantry. What it cost him to do this, and to say good-bye to his old regiment, I know very well, but "DUTY" was his watchword all through his life, so he never hesitated. Accordingly he was appointed to the command of the 6th Battalion, The Wiltshire Regiment.

I received innumerable letters from relations and friends of men serving in the battalion, expressing their admiration for him and gratitude for the services he had rendered to them ; whilst the tributes which were paid to his memory

and his work proved in what high regard he was held by senior officers with whom he had served or who had become acquainted with him, from the Commander-in-Chief downwards. Lord French, who knew him very well, and had observed his work, both in peace and war, held the highest opinion of him and expressed himself in the most complimentary and even affectionate terms when he came to Rood Ashton to unveil the memorial which was placed in our parish church.

He had been a very great sportsman. He had won many steeplechases, was champion middle-weight boxer of the Army in 1906–1907, and, quite apart from soldiering, had distinguished himself in many fields of sport. What he was to his mother and to me it is impossible to describe.

Previously he had been on the Staff of H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught when he was Governor-General of Canada, and H.R.H. was good enough to write to me in the most generous terms about him. H.R.H. was graciously pleased to be present in person at the Memorial Service, which was held in St. Margaret's, Westminster, and was also good enough to send me a photograph of the window which he erected in the church at Ottawa to commemorate the names of all those who had served on his Staff and had sacrificed their lives in the War.

At the first meeting of the Imperial War Conference in 1917 Sir Robert Borden, who had known my son in Canada very well, proposed a very kindly resolution of sympathy and of regret for the loss of one for whom he, and many others in Canada, entertained the strongest feelings of admiration and respect.

CHAPTER XV

IRELAND AGAIN

IN addition to the ordinary work of the Colonial Office and the special war work, the Prime Minister asked me to undertake two duties which then had no connection with my department. Owing to the extremely unhappy state of affairs in Ireland, the Viceroy, Lord French, and the Chief Secretary, Mr. Shortt, had to be a good deal in that country, and I was called upon to be liaison Member of the Cabinet for Ireland. This naturally entailed a great deal of extra work, but it also enabled me to keep in close touch with the condition of things there and showed me plainly how completely everything had changed in the few years that had elapsed since I left the Irish Office in 1906.

There has been much criticism and controversy over the policy which the Government of that day adopted, but I believe it was the right one. It was the result of a report of a committee appointed by the Prime Minister, over which I presided. Our duty was to examine all the facts in connection with Ireland and to report what steps ought to be taken in regard to the government of that country, and if in our opinion it was necessary to introduce some measure of self-government, and if so, what form such a measure ought to take. We ultimately reported in favour of setting up two local Parliaments in Ireland, one for Ulster (six counties) and the other for the remainder of Ireland. It fell to my lot by the strange irony of circumstances to have to introduce this Bill into the House of Commons and to carry it through nearly all its stages.

Unfortunately for me my health broke down before the Bill was finished and I had to leave its completion to others.

I remember many years before this when we had been dividing over a motion in favour of Home Rule in the House of Commons, Mr. Davitt came up to me after the division and asked why I opposed the Home Rule proposals. Was it because I thought that the Government of Ireland under Home Rule would be extreme? If I did, I made a great mistake. They would divide, he said, into two parties, just as we did, Conservative and Liberal, only in their case the Liberal would really be the Labour Party. That was the Party to which he and those who thought with him would belong. Mr. Redmond would lead the Conservatives. It would be a long time before they would be in a position to upset his majority. Meantime, he pointed out, instead of fighting us in the House of Commons, they would be fighting each other in Ireland, and relieving us of all the trouble which made Parliament impossible. Of course, he said, he would not see it, but he made a prophecy that Home Rule would be conceded to Ireland by the Conservative Party, and he was willing to bet that I would be the Minister who would bring in the Bill. He knew, he said, that once I was convinced I should not hesitate to act, *but it would be too late.*

A very remarkable forecast, made by a very remarkable man!

Alas! All who were the chief figures in Irish politics of those days have long "passed over the border." Davitt died prematurely years ago; John Redmond, a true Irish gentleman, really died of a broken heart, consequent on his hopes and failures during the War. Willie Redmond gave his life, with splendid heroism, for his country; the Nationalist Party, as we knew it in those days, has disappeared from the political stage.

It is not inappropriate here to refer to the most un-

fortunate mistake made by the War Office in the early days of the War. I do not desire in any way to blame them. They were overwhelmed with work, the circumstances were novel, and they had at their head a very great man, who, however, knew nothing of politics, and was determined not to be mixed up in them. Mr. John Redmond made the loyal declaration in Parliament which is familiar to everyone, and he did his best to carry it out. I am confident that if we had struck at the psychological moment when the iron was hot, we should, not only have secured a very large number of fine fighting men from the south of Ireland, but we should probably have laid the foundations of a satisfactory settlement of the political difficulties, and have escaped many of the horrors of which to-day one can hardly bear to think. Some proposals were made by Mr. Redmond's representatives in regard to the form which recruiting should take. No doubt they bore a political complexion, but I, for one, privately did my utmost to secure their adoption. They were turned down, and alas! the iron was allowed to cool, with the disastrous results that, not only did we fail to recruit this fine Irish fighting material, not only did we alienate the sympathies of Mr. John Redmond and his friends, who were, I am convinced, honestly anxious to make good their assurances, but, by failing to secure the recruits and at the same time by stopping emigration from Ireland, we left in the southern part of that country a large number of young men who had nothing to do. Ultimately they became the most dangerous element in the rebellious section of the community.

The case of Willie Redmond is worth remembering. A most gallant man, he absolutely determined to do his best, whatever might be the consequences. He was, however, too old and not physically fit to stand the strain of the trenches. I did my best to persuade the authorities at the War Office to recall him from France, to grant him the

rank of Major-General, and to station him in Ireland at the head of the recruiting movement in the south. Howbeit, this appeared to the War Office authorities to be too political a proposal, and they turned it down.

This was really a great tragedy. We lost splendid recruits and we sent gallant Willie Redmond to his death. It is no use bemoaning the past, but it is worth while to record the facts.

When, later on, we brought forward the Home Rule proposals it is, in my opinion, greatly to be regretted that many people in Parliament (and in the country), irrespective of party, declined to take any interest in them or to treat them seriously. Some even decided to oppose them. I believe if they had been accepted generally as a solution of the old outstanding grievances, much of the subsequent trouble and suffering might have been avoided. However, it may well be said that this opinion is due to the fact that I had so much responsibility for the scheme. Be that as it may, I examined the whole situation at the time, most carefully. I was, of course, opposed to Home Rule, but as the result of my examination I became convinced that it was no longer possible to resist the demand for some manner of self-government.

It is interesting now to look back and to reflect that, while Ulster representatives loyally accepted the proposals, though at the same time making it clear that they did not wish any change, Parliament would not accept the belief I consistently expressed that in the end Ulster would work the Bill successfully, and find in it a measure by which many of their aspirations would be realized. Yet to-day this is undoubtedly the case, if we only take two instances—education and temperance.

I do not think anybody will be found to deny that under the old system it would have been impossible for this great and loyal province to make the advance she has been

able to make under her own Parliament. Under the sagacious leadership of the present Prime Minister, Sir James Craig, there is every indication that Ulster is going to make as good use of the power of the local self-government as is possible, and that the results will be eminently satisfactory to her, while at the same time there has been no weakening in the relations between the mother country and herself.

As regards southern Ireland the story is, of course, a very different one. After the passing of the Act there seemed to be a complete union of forces in opposition to its adoption, and it is not necessary for me to comment upon the happenings there ; one can only hope that peace will yet come to that distressful country, but in the meantime we must all deplore the cruel sufferings to which so many loyal and law-abiding people have been subjected.

As I have said in my place in Parliament, so I say again, much of this would have been prevented if our Government, on the establishment of the Free State, had declined to move either soldiers or police until the Irish Government were provided with men trained and prepared to replace them. However, it is no use crying over spilt milk. All we can do now is to hope for better times, and to contribute in any small way to what we must hope will be the final chapter in this sad story.

One curious and unfortunate factor has always exercised a malign influence over the future of Ireland. The Government of the day, whether Conservative, Liberal or Coalition, has invariably adopted the view that some brilliant Englishman, selected from one of the great departments of state or from some other branch of public service, would be able to contribute to the better government of Ireland, and, notwithstanding that this policy has never succeeded, it has always been followed.

I am not merely referring to such offices as Lord

Lieutenant or Chief Secretary. There was much to be said for appointing somebody who was not a resident Irishman for these high places. The fact that there has always been a marked difference between North and South, Protestant and Roman Catholic, is sufficient in itself to make it difficult to select suitable Irishmen. But in the civil service of Ireland I am quite sure it is essential to have Irishmen. In the first place, it is natural that if Irishmen are not appointed there should be jealousy, sometimes even vigorous distrust in and dislike for the stranger who has suddenly been sent over to fill the position. This feeling might have been overcome if the practice in question had resulted in the introduction of new methods, and at the same time secured the sympathy and good-will of the people. So far as I know this has never been the case. The man selected, who has probably a great record of public service behind him, very often knows nothing of Ireland, is quite unable to appreciate the true inwardness of the Irish difficulty, believes he has found the golden key which will unlock the door and open the road to peace and prosperity, so he proceeds to press his policy upon the Government. He is met by Irish objections of all kinds, to which, naturally, he turns a deaf ear. Too late he finds that his policy has failed and, what is worse, both Ireland and Great Britain have to pay dearly for his experiments.

An amusing and illuminating example of this is to be found in what may appear to be an improbable story, but is really true. A Minister who had never been in Ireland in his life was sent over to administer the Government, and he found, as have all his predecessors and successors, certain real and practical difficulties. He produced his own remedies, which were received with derision and open opposition. Accustomed as he was to English political life, he told his private secretary, whom he had brought over with him, that he was quite certain he could convince

any public meeting of the wisdom of his policy. So he decided to hold a public meeting and address it on the difficulties of the moment and explain his methods of reform. His private secretary was told by his Irish colleagues that this proposal was ridiculous. No public meeting could be held unless it was in the Nationalist interests, as the Unionists would not come, and his chief could not hope to carry out his suggestion with any measure of success. This he duly reported to his chief, who decided that the Irishmen must be wrong. He would hold the meeting. It was held, but the audience was composed of permanent officials and various people who could be relied upon to attend and make a brave show. As they were already on the side of the Minister, apart from saving his face, they were not of much benefit to him. The meeting was laughed at by everyone, though I believe to the day of his death he never realized that he had been the victim of what was really a hoax.

Another incident occurs to me which illustrates the full meaning of what I have said. In the very early days of Home Rule, before the policy had been adopted by the orthodox Liberal Party, some very well meaning, high-minded Members of Parliament decided to go over to Ireland and examine for themselves the condition of things in that country and so form an independent opinion as to what ought to be done. They travelled all over the country and interviewed many people of all classes. They returned and protested that nothing could be pleasanter or more agreeable than the people of Ireland, and that very small concessions in the way of self-government would meet their requirements. Of course, everybody in Ireland realized that they had been humbugged, not intentionally deceived, but gently and courteously misled. Not long afterwards a great friend of mine met a man occupying a prominent local position, whose name was mentioned in

the Press as one of those who had given assurances that very modest reforms would meet Irish needs, and that it was a great mistake to believe that his countrymen were demanding extreme and far-reaching measures. My friend asked the man why he had made such a statement to the visitors. The reply was : " Ah ! now, weren't they surely visitors who had come over to hear what they wanted, but would it have been civil of me to have disappointed them and tell them something they didn't want. Sure, wasn't I right to tell them what I did and to send 'em back happy ? "

I believe many of the old troubles in Ireland were due to well-meaning, but hopelessly ill-informed, actions on the part of Englishmen, who had not the least idea of the forces with which they were dealing and believed that a generous offer would be met by an equally generous response. The result of this was that it was urged that Dominion self-government should be set up in that country, in the confident hope that this would satisfy all Irish aspirations.

A definite final step has now been taken, and we must hope that the Free State Government will soon bring peace and prosperity to our new Dominion.

CHAPTER XVI

OIL

ONE day, very early in 1917, after the Cabinet had broken up, the Prime Minister asked me to remain behind. He told me he was profoundly anxious about the provision of oil products in this country for all purposes.

At that time there were several committees in existence, presided over by very able and competent men, but the reports which reached the Prime Minister led him to believe that the situation was very serious and he spoke in a very impressive manner in regard to the situation and his own anxiety. I quote this incident as it occurred because it affords a proof of the wonderful way in which Mr. Lloyd George entered into every detail, grasped the main facts and set himself, without hesitation or delay, to bring about a change. He asked me if I would undertake full responsibility for the supplies of oil products, and said that if I would do so he would give me a free hand.

I replied that I knew nothing about the question, that I would inquire into it and tell him if I thought I could usefully take charge. I accordingly interviewed the chairmen and members of the committees and satisfied myself that the Prime Minister was right, and that the control and administration ought to rest in the hands of one individual. I saw him again and told him that if I could be given supreme control I was willing to do my best. He told me I was to take command and do as I thought right; throughout all the difficulties that supervened he never deviated from this course, and only his whole-hearted support enabled me to produce order out of chaos.

I now propose to tell, as briefly as I can, what is really a very remarkable story.

It was very fortunate for me that Professor Cadman, of Birmingham University, was adviser in oil matters to the Colonial Office. When I told Sir George Fiddes, the head of the department, that I had undertaken this new task, he at once advised me to send for Professor Cadman and secure his assistance. I acted upon this advice, sent for the Professor and discussed the whole question with him. He was just recovering from the terrible effects of some experiments with which he had been associated in connection with the discovery of poison gas and its use in reply to the German attack. Nevertheless, he placed his services unreservedly at my disposal, and the success which happily attended our administration is entirely due to his great ability, wonderful industry and unsurpassed knowledge of oil questions.

I summoned a meeting of some of the committees and a conference of representatives of all the departments interested in petroleum. I soon found it would be impossible to secure adequate supplies of oil products—which must come from overseas—so long as the administration was left in so many hands. I realized at once that our supplies were being seriously depleted by submarine attack. Knowing that the Germans had a very effective system of espionage in this country which, though it was controlled and superseded by our own Secret Service, was yet able to convey a great deal of useful information to its employers, I came to the conclusion that the movements of "tankers" should be kept absolutely secret, and that every possible step should be taken to prevent any knowledge of their whereabouts passing into the possession of anybody, however honest and reliable he might be, outside the very few who must be responsible.

I had a long talk with Professor Cadman, and we came

to the conclusion that all questions connected with the movements of "tankers" must be definitely under his personal executive control, with the Ministry of Shipping in command. I instructed him there and then to put this plan into practice. I need hardly say this in no way reflected upon those who had been responsible, but was merely the enforcement of a very necessary rule that certain kinds of information should be known to the fewest possible number of people.

I cannot say whether the result was really a case of cause and effect, but it is a fact that, whereas before this change was made, a considerable proportion of tankers were lost, as soon as the new system was adopted the losses were very materially reduced. I have always thought it possible that information as to dates of sailings, etc., had leaked out and reached the German spies.

The complete organization of transport, storage and supplies; the establishment of estimates of requirements for all the fighting and civil departments; the creation of order out of chaos, were the tasks which lay before me. Much remained to be done before I could be in a position to report to the Prime Minister that we had reached a position of safety. The supply of tankers was wholly inadequate. It was necessary to provide some other means of transporting oil to this country. The first step we took was to provide for more tankers and to institute a system of carrying oil in ballast tanks of ordinary cargo steamers, known as "double-bottoms," by which we could bring in a considerable supply in addition to that brought by the tankers.

Our next step was to control the use of petroleum products in this country, and to effect all possible economy in regard to the internal supply and distribution.

The gravity of the situation when I took over the administration may be gathered from the fact that the

Fleet was so ill supplied with oil that a number of the ships burning this kind of fuel were tied to their moorings, and the Admiralty were compelled to abstain from doing much they would have liked to have done for fear that the supply would be short when the need for actual fighting arose.

In France, Lord Haig had only a few days' supply, which meant it would be impossible for him to carry out a projected offensive unless he were certain that he would have a sufficient supply of motive power which would enable him to keep his troops in the front line supplied with reinforcements, food and ammunition.

At home, where oil had come to play such an important part in industrial life, the situation had become extremely acute. As an instance of this I may mention that I had occasion to attend a meeting in support of a great organization of which the late Lord Northcliffe was president. After the meeting was over he asked me if I would come into his private room as he had something important to say to me. He told me that he had received an intimation to the effect that the supply of petrol, etc., to the *Times* newspaper would be stopped on the following day. It was, he said, an impossible situation, and if it were persisted in he would make a tremendous attack upon the Government in the next day's paper. What, he asked, would be the impression throughout the world if the publication of the *Times* were seriously hampered, or possibly even prevented altogether? At that moment he did not know I had anything to do with the oil question, and he was merely taking advantage of my being a Cabinet Minister to talk to me about the matter. I was able to tell him I had taken charge, that before the meeting I had heard of the order and had countermanded it, and that he need have no fear as to the future. I confess I did not feel quite certain I should be able to carry out my promise, but I was deter-

mined to do everything in my power, at whatever sacrifice in regard to the private use of motor spirit, to secure an increasing supply for our ships, our soldiers, and our industrial concerns.

I had then to return to the Colonial Office, and work out the details of our new organization with Professor Cadman. From that moment I felt I had the right man to help me, and that if it was possible for human brains and energy to overcome the many difficulties with which we were confronted, success would be obtained.

A Petroleum Executive was established, and I naturally placed Professor Cadman at the head of it, with a small, reliable and efficient staff whom he was himself to select and upon whom he could rely for loyal service and absolute secrecy. He prepared a complete budget of all petroleum requirements and devised a series of charts which would show us each day what were the supplies of petroleum products actually in the country and available for the various services, a red line across the chart indicating the position of safety. At that time we were, alas! a long way below this. It is easier to imagine than to describe what was the extent of our anxiety until we were in a position to judge how far the enforcement of secrecy in regard to the sailings of tankers and the supply of "double-bottoms" affected the quantity which would be available from week to week.

It next became our duty to secure the co-operation of the great oil companies, and to ascertain how far economy could be effected in the distribution of oil products in this country. In order to do this effectively we conferred with representatives of the companies, and discussed various details with them. They were, at first, very much alarmed when they learned that men whom they thought knew little or nothing about oil questions were going to take control into their own hands. But they behaved with

splendid loyalty, and all of them finally co-operated with us to the fullest possible extent.

We had to appoint an official to control supplies in this country, and to take over the work which had so far been handled by a committee. This meant practically terminating the use of petrol for all private purposes, a proposal which was at first violently resisted because it was thought to be unnecessary, but was finally accepted and loyally carried out, thanks to the tact and determination of the Board of Trade Controller, Sir Evan Jones.

Another instance of the kind of work we had to do was on discovering that two or more companies were serving the same town, their tanks and wagons sometimes working through the same streets. It had to be stopped. The country was divided into districts, and different companies allotted to each. This arrangement of course resulted in interference with the natural operation of trade, but it was necessary to be firm and to adhere absolutely to our regulations. In the end our plan was adopted and worked smoothly and well under Sir Walter Egerton and the Pool Board.

By this time we had also established a committee representing the Admiralty, War Office, the Board of Trade and the Ministry of Shipping, which used to meet periodically under my presidency, discuss the whole situation and decide what, generally speaking, were the steps to be taken at the moment and agree upon the Petroleum Budget which we prepared. For their information as to available supplies they had to be dependent upon the statements given them by me, as the charts to which I have referred, which contained specific information, were kept closely guarded by Professor Cadman, and the contents were only known to himself, his confidential clerk and myself.

So far I have only dealt with our own situation. Our drastic action in regard to the overseas supplies and its

use at once had its effect upon the Allies. Our own arrangement became organized and under effective control, and on many occasions we were compelled to help our Allies from our own depleted and inadequate supplies.

It was not long before I received communications from both France and Italy begging me to realize that their needs were at least as great as ours, and imploring me to take them into council. Senator Berenger, who was the French Minister in charge of oil, came over to see me, and was at first greatly distressed because he believed it would be very difficult for him to justify the position in which he found himself to the French people. I also interviewed a representative of the Italian Government. After much discussion we evolved a plan under which a committee, representative of all countries concerned, was appointed. We met periodically in London, France or Italy, and it was presided over by myself or Professor Cadman. Difficulties, of course, there were, but the utmost good-will prevailed, and in the end they were overcome, with the result that, not only did we rise above the ominous red line, but when Peace was declared, Senator Berenger, at a speech he made at a dinner to which he was entertained by the British Government, with Lord Curzon in the chair, declared that the War had been won by the supply of oil products.

It is possible there may be some slight exaggeration in this statement, but none the less, when we remember how essential were these products to the movements of ships, supply to troops and to industry, I do not think it is too much to say that if the difficulties had not been overcome as they were, the result of the War might have been very different from what it happily was.

I have always felt that Professor Cadman never received a full recognition of the services he rendered. I had the honour to recommend his name to the King for the favour

of a K.C.M.G., which His Majesty was graciously pleased to confer upon him. Never, in my judgment, was an honour better deserved, and in all the long list of services rendered by both men and women, which contributed to the ultimate Victory, there is none which stands higher than the work which Sir John Cadman did in securing for the Allies the motive power in abundance, without which all the men, all the munitions and all the food in the world would have been of little avail.

In the early days of the Petroleum Executive I spent many an anxious hour wondering whether it would be possible to bring supplies up to the margin of safety—which at that time was called the margin of danger—as we believed anything below it would expose us to the risk of not being able to carry on the War. Throughout it all, though he never attempted to minimize the danger, Professor Cadman was always cheery, always confident, and always ready with some proposal to meet any difficulties which arose.

Amongst other duties which fell to my lot as head of the executive, was to decide which cargoes should be given priority on ships coming from overseas, and in the discharge of this most difficult and thankless task I had the generous, whole-hearted support of Sir Joseph, now Lord, Maclay, who was Minister of Shipping, and his energetic and capable assistant, Mr. Kembal Cook, upon whom fell the chief burden of providing transport for the various necessities which we required. Occasionally it happened that Sir Joseph thought I was wrong and that we could do with less oil than the amount we were demanding. However, he was always ready to listen to my opinions and to accept my decision, and I have felt, ever since, that we on the Petroleum Executive and on the Allied Committee owe him a great debt for the part he played in these most difficult times.

Of course, there are many men I have not mentioned who did signal work in connection with this most difficult task, but all who are connected with it can remember, as I do, with pride and satisfaction that when we began we were threatened with an appalling shortage, and that long before the Peace we were able to feel that by our united efforts, and by working assiduously by day and by night, we had converted a situation of extreme danger into one of complete safety.

CHAPTER XVII

FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY

WHEN I left the Colonial Office just before Christmas, 1918, I thought I had bidden farewell to official life. I was far from well, and had gone home hoping that the release from official duties and the heavy strain of Governmental responsibilities would soon restore me to health.

I had made it quite clear to my friends in the Colonial Office that I was, as I honestly believed, leaving office for good. They did not agree with me and they warned me that they thought I should be asked to serve in the new Administration. One or two of them actually prophesied that I was to be transferred to the Admiralty. However, I thought they were mistaken, as an Admiral, who was a personal friend, had come from the Admiralty to see me at the Colonial Office and I imagined that his visit had given rise to the rumour. I was, therefore, immensely surprised when I received a letter from the Prime Minister informing me that he had been good enough to submit my name to the King for the great office of First Lord of the Admiralty, and that His Majesty had been graciously pleased to approve the appointment. In these circumstances, unless my health was so bad that I could not possibly undertake the office, it was my duty to express my gratitude and resolve to do my utmost.

I felt, however, like a great many other men, that my opportunity had come too late. I was too old, too much worn by the responsibilities of office and by domestic sorrow to be able to bring to the discharge of my duties

the freshness and vigour of my earlier days. Further, I realized that my duty would not be to build up a great Navy to meet the threat of foreign attack, to protect our shores from invasion, and to safeguard the Empire generally, but rather to reduce the splendid Force which had been brought to such wonderful strength and efficiency by my predecessors. That great Service, which had so recently proved its ability to serve the Empire with devotion and success, had protected our liberties and our homes, had cleared the seas of enemy vessels, and had secured to us uninterrupted supplies of food, munitions, and all the necessaries of existence. The War had, of course, entirely altered the situation, and with the surrender of the German fleet had disappeared the enemy which our Navy had been prepared with such brilliant success to encounter.

Of course, this position meant a heavy reduction in ships, and therefore in personnel. The question we had to decide at the Admiralty was the standard of strength for the future, having regard to the altered conditions ; what could we afford to maintain and, above all, what were the lessons we had learnt in the War which ought to guide us in training and equipping our Navy. The problem was, therefore, very different from that with which we had been so long familiar, and was by no means an easy one to solve.

I shall never forget my first day at the Admiralty. The First Sea Lord, Admiral Sir Rosslyn Wemyss, now Lord Wester Wemyss, at once came in to see me, a splendid, cheery sailor. I told him that I did not know what the Navy had done to deserve the evil fate of my arrival, but I had come to do my best. He replied that it was no evil fate, and that they were all very glad, and all would be well. From that moment, until the time of his retirement, he gave me in unstinted measure the most enthusiastic, generous and able support.

We felt that it was too early to lay down precisely the lessons the War had taught, and to devise the methods by which to translate them into action, but some things were at once evident. The German fleet had surrendered and was lying in Scapa Flow, that great harbour on the extreme north of our shores, where the Grand Fleet had lain for so many weary months during the War. It was certain that it would never again be allowed to become an effective fighting force. With the French we were in close alliance. The old enmities and suspicions had disappeared. We had fought together on sea, on land and in the air. Our gallant men had died together and were lying in death as the comrades they had been in the great struggle. Our friendship had, therefore, been cemented by suffering and sacrifice, and we were prepared to present a united front to aid one another.

Where else was there an enemy to be found to necessitate the retention on our part of a big fleet? A very difficult, indeed, at the time, an almost impossible, question to answer. The United States could not be regarded as a possible enemy. It was true that they had largely increased their fleet. They had gained wonderful experience in war training. They had had the immense advantage of serving with the British Fleet and of learning what were the principles upon which our great Navy had been created, and what were the methods by which we had gained and maintained our supremacy of the sea. But they were kinsmen of our own, speaking the same language and had never been concerned in European politics. It was impossible to believe, whatever might be their policy in the future, that it would be one which would bring that great nation and ourselves into conflict.

Japan, another great and growing naval power, had lent us valuable assistance in the War, had been a loyal ally, and, whatever might be the development in the Far

East, it could not be assumed that it would be necessary to arm against her. For these reasons, to the ordinary observer, it appeared that our Navy might be ruthlessly reduced without our incurring any serious risk.

Nevertheless, it was not possible to settle the question in this easy manner. Though it was not the duty of the Admiralty to search for possible enemies, it had to arrive at a conclusion as to the Navy of the future. Nobody, however confident they might be of prospective conditions, could contemplate leaving this island country without a Navy, sufficient in strength, and efficient for any duty which it might reasonably be called upon to perform.

The Board over which I was called upon to preside was an exceptional one. It was composed of naval officers of great experience and high standing. Although in this respect it differed in no degree from its predecessors, yet each member had played a distinguished part in the War. I had, therefore, the advantage of the advice and opinions of men who were not only eminent in their profession, but had come from active service, had played many different parts in the great struggle, were exceptionally fitted for the position which they occupied, and were well able to visualize the whole situation and to give me wise, practical advice.

It is often said, and I believe it is held in many quarters, that the "Admirals" want to maintain a big Navy and love war. It is true that, not only the "Admirals," but every sailor wants a Navy big enough for the defence of the Empire, and efficient for the work it has to do. Notwithstanding, those who charge them with being obsessed with the "military spirit" entirely forget that first and foremost they are Christian gentlemen who hate war, and a minor, yet important point, they are also taxpayers. They are very indifferently remunerated for their services, though I am glad to say that they are in a better position in this respect than they were. For all that, they are

no more likely than is the civilian to be pleased with a bigger bill than is absolutely necessary for national security. The charge that they want war, therefore, is wholly without foundation, and cruelly unjust. They who make the charge take no note of the fact that sailors know what war means far better than does the civilian. Especially was this true of my Board. Every one had seen war in its most terrible aspects, and knew what it meant in the loss of gallant lives and of human suffering. I am confident that no one of those whom I was privileged to call "colleague" would not, if he could, consistently with the safety of the Empire and with his own honour, have done anything he was able to make war impossible.

But we felt that our duty was to take note of all the facts, to weigh them, study them carefully and cautiously, and then to decide what the strength of the Navy ought to be in the face of existing circumstances.

It is not the duty of the Board of Admiralty to indicate the probable foe of to-morrow. That is the business of the Cabinet of the day. They know what is the state of feeling in different parts of the world, and what are the risks to which their country is exposed. The First Lord, as a Member of the Cabinet, is naturally expected to share this knowledge. His duty is to indicate to his Board what he believes to be the political situation at home and abroad, and to ask for their advice as to the steps which ought to be taken in order to enable the Navy to do its duty. When the Board have definitely reached their conclusions, it then becomes the duty of the First Lord to press the recommendations upon the Cabinet, with whom, of course, rests the final decision and responsibility as to what shall be the strength of the defence force of the country.

It was not, however, possible for me to render even this small service to my Board, as, in those early days following upon the termination of the War, a stunned,

bruised and bleeding world was not in a position to contemplate a fresh war, and no country, in face of the awful experiences so recently gained, was prepared to take any action likely to lead to strained relations with any other Powers.

Taking one thing with another, we could only fall back upon some such formula as this: "It is not for us to indicate the direction in which the next enemy is likely to be found, or what part of the world the next war will be fought. We do not provoke war, but when this terrible event comes to pass, we must be ready to do our part, to go where we are sent, and to do our duty when we get there."

The pressing need for economy was already upon us. We were all oppressed with the sickening recollections of war in all its terrible realities. We were all animated by a profound desire for a lasting peace, which would relieve all countries, especially our own, from having to prepare and maintain large armaments. Many as genuine friends of peace are to be found to-day, or have existed in the past, as Mr. Lloyd George, who at that time was Prime Minister, but none more sincere or determined. He was essentially, by training and conviction, a man of peace. Yet he had proved himself to be a magnificent War Minister, and I am convinced, speaking with a full knowledge of those dreadful days, that nobody individually played so great a part as he did in bringing the War to a successful conclusion.

But it was over. The Great Victory had been won. Liberty and Justice had been re-established. The freedom of the world secured. He now looked longingly for the establishment of peace, for the reduction of armaments, and he fought for this object with all his brilliant ability. As Prime Minister, of course, he expected his colleagues who were responsible for the fighting departments, whilst having most careful regard for economy, to present the whole case as it appeared to them in the clearest possible

form, and to provide him with all the information they could obtain upon which they based their recommendations. I can safely say that he showed us, on all occasions, the most generous consideration. In the end he accepted the naval programme which I thought fit to present as the minimum strength which the Board considered to be consistent with safety. That it has been possible to carry the reduction still further to-day does not, I venture to say, in any way reflect upon the attitude adopted by my Board, or the decisions arrived at by the Prime Minister and his Cabinet.

After prolonged discussion and consideration of all the facts and circumstances, it was decided to recommend that the Navy should be reduced to 124,000 officers and men. This meant considerable reductions, and it was essential that the changes should not be made in a way which would involve putting officers and ratings " on the beach," unless it was probable that they would be able to find other occupations. We decided to proceed gradually, and to offer special inducements to enable the numbers decided upon to be reached. Simultaneously with the carrying out of this most difficult and painful task, two very important questions arose—the pay of officers and men, and the relations between the Admiralty and the Air Force.

The settlement of the first question had been left too long in abeyance. A committee, under Admiral Sir Martyn Jerram, known as the Naval Personnel Committee, had been considering certain proposals for revision of rates of pay and allowances. This committee was reconstituted on the 6th January, 1919, as the Naval Pay Committee, with instructions to hold an inquiry into the pay, allowances and pensions of all ranks and ratings of the Navy. Subsequently a separate committee, under Sir Lionel Halsey, was appointed to deal with the pay of officers. There was further a co-ordinating committee of the War Cabinet,

over which Mr. Barnes, my most capable private secretary, presided, to consider the pay of all fighting services. Decisions on the Jerram Committee were announced in May, 1919, and on the Halsey Committee in July, 1919. The whole question had then, of course, to come before the Cabinet for decision. It was a bad moment for a matter of this kind, economy was essential, taxation was very heavy, everybody was hoping for immediate reduction, and therefore, to secure acceptance of proposals which involved what appeared to be a very large addition to the estimates was very difficult.

In addition to the Board, to which I have already referred, I was fortunate in having as Financial Secretary, Dr. Macnamara, who had held this office for many years and who, indeed, had enjoyed exceptional experience in naval matters and was a most capable administrator. All gave me invaluable support. The Fourth Sea Lord, Sir Hugh Tothill, and Lord Lytton as Civil Lord, took a broad, public-spirited view of the situation, as did all the Admiralty officials. With the aid of these capable men, it was my good fortune to secure for the officers and men of the Navy an increase in their pay which, though it did not err on the side of generosity, considering the character of their work and the risks to which they are daily and hourly exposed, was, no doubt, a substantial improvement upon the rates which previously existed.

As I have said, I received from the Prime Minister and my colleagues the utmost consideration and good-will. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, was most considerate and anxious to help. But the difficulties were gigantic, the pressure of work awful, and the need for economy urgent. For these reasons it was my obvious duty to make it clear that the case was not only a good one, but so pressing in its character that it had to be dealt with without delay and in accordance with the

recommendations of the Board of Admiralty, or serious injustice would be done and grave consequences might follow.

After a friendly but critical discussion, our recommendations were adopted, and every member of the Board of Admiralty, and in addition, the Financial Secretary—who is not technically a member of the Board—have reason to be proud of the part they played in the belated recognition of the Navy to their undoubted claim to increased emoluments, which would make their lives more comfortable and—far more important in their eyes—enable them to make much better provision for their wives and children.

During the time I remained at the Admiralty, and also when I was unfortunately compelled to leave, I received innumerable personal assurances from both officers and ratings that the changes made in my time conferred substantial benefits upon all concerned.

I shall always regard this as one of the proudest achievements of my life, although my own share in this, as in other work done at the Admiralty, was small. It was my duty to be the channel of communication between the Cabinet and the Board, and to act as the interpreter of the Board's views. The work was done by the naval members of the Board, notably the Fourth Sea Lord, to whom I have already referred; by the Secretary of the Admiralty, Sir Oswyn Murray, and the various officials who were employed upon the settlement of the question.

The second subject that came up at once for consideration was the relation between the Admiralty and the Air Board, and the steps which ought to be taken to secure an efficient Air Force.

The violence and the brutality of the German air raids, both upon this country and upon the various fields of battle, and the failure to offer an effective defence and retaliation during the War had aroused the country to a

great state of indignation. Parliament responded to the feeling, able men were found in both Houses to advocate the view that so long as the Air Force was left to the divided control of the Admiralty and the War Office, nothing could be done apart from the needs of these two services.

I have no desire to claim to speak on behalf of the Board of Admiralty as a whole, but I believe that their opinion coincided with my own, which was, and is, that they could best provide their own Air Force, that is to say, they could secure the most efficient Force suited to work with the Fleet and at the lowest possible expense.

Looking back upon those days (and it is easy to be wise after the event), I feel that while there was considerable justification for the views held as to division of responsibility, they were, in reality, greatly exaggerated. Nevertheless, I also realize that, while I believe the Admiralty and the War Office were justified in holding that they could best provide their own respective Air Forces, there was a real need that there should be an Air Force independent of them both, which would be a separate and distinct fighting force, and be available for retaliation upon the enemy.

At that time two factors had contributed greatly to the formation of public opinion. The first turned out to be baseless. The other was due to the hasty provision which had to be made by the Admiralty and the War Office to meet the sudden calls which arose when the War, in its early days, assumed its first magnitude. The first factor consisted of statements made by men who were known to possess special knowledge of aerial warfare. We were assured that, unless we had a special department whose business it would be to think solely of air warfare, we should find London laid in ruins, our great military depots and munition factories destroyed, and the people of the country reduced to a state of panic and revolution. I more than once heard statements of this kind made by responsible,

well-informed men. Whatever the future may have in store for us, it is, thank God, true that we have come through without any raid which could be held to justify such a prophecy. Considering the novelty of this mode of warfare, and our unpreparedness for it, it is, comparatively speaking, wonderful that so little loss of life and damage to property resulted from the various German air raids.

The second, no doubt inferior, but none the less powerful cause for discontent was the revelation that the two great fighting departments, requiring frequently the same materials, had been bidding against each other and that, in consequence, the cost of raw material had been unnecessarily enhanced. Howbeit, I have no doubt in my own mind that the agitation in Parliament faithfully reflected the feelings of the country, and that the creation of an Air Board, with a Minister directly responsible for the Air Service, was not only essential at the time, but served greatly to allay public excitement and anxiety, and could not, therefore, have been avoided.

As I have already stated, I believe at the Admiralty we thought that public opinion had been formed too hastily, and that it was our duty to put forward as strongly as we could the claim to be allowed to provide and control our own Air Force. We were quite willing to leave the construction of flying machines to the Air Board, but we asked that it should rest with us to decide what should be the strength of the Air Force required by the Navy, and that the training of the men and the command of the Force while serving with the Fleet should also rest with us. My naval advisers were, as I have said, distinguished sailors, with the experiences of the War still fresh in their minds. They, therefore, held these opinions, not as theorists, but as practical men who believed that this would at once be the most efficient and least costly way.

My task, in consequence, was not an easy one. We held these views very strongly and felt it to be our duty to the nation to give expression to them and, if possible, to secure their adoption. Personally, I fully appreciated the force of their argument, but I knew that the Cabinet were committed to the new policy. The Air Ministry was the creation of only a comparatively few months, and it was unreasonable, indeed impossible, to ask that the policy should be revised and that return should be made, even in part, to pre-war methods. In this, as in everything else during the time I was at the Admiralty, I found my naval colleagues to be, not only reliably brilliant experts in their own profession, but to be broad-minded men of the world, who, if they were inclined to be somewhat impatient of Parliamentary methods, fully realized that they must accept Government decisions, and that, unless they felt them to be wholly inconsistent with national security, they must do their best to put them into operation.

My next and immediate task was to adopt measures which were calculated to give effect to these views. It was fortunate for me that, at the time the Air Force was put under the Secretary of State for War, that brilliant statesman and former First Lord, Mr. Winston Churchill, held that position. The post of Secretary of State for Air had been temporarily left unfilled, and Mr. Churchill had been made Secretary of State for War and Air. From him I received nothing but the most cordial assistance in my efforts to devise a workable and effective policy. He and I appointed a committee representing the departments concerned which met in my room at the Admiralty and over which I, as First Lord, presided. It was attended by Mr. Churchill in his dual capacity, by the First Sea Lord, other naval and army officers, and by representatives of the Air Ministry. I can safely say without fear of contradiction that we at the Admiralty, notably the naval

members of the committee, played up absolutely, loyally subordinated our opinions, and we all did our best to find a solution of the problem.

The first question to be considered was what should be the division of responsibility as between the two old fighting forces and the new force. Was the Air Ministry to act independently, or was there to be some system of partnership between it and the other two fighting departments ?

It would, of course, be necessary to provide a constant supply of officers for the Air Force. It seemed to be clear that if the best was to be obtained of them, a satisfactory prospect of future employment and advancement must be assured. One proposal that was made was that the Navy should lend young officers who, between the ages of twenty and thirty, would serve in the Air Force. Then if, as seemed likely in many cases, there was no prospect of their rising to the higher grades of the service, they should be returned to the Navy and occupy the same position in that service which they would have occupied if they had remained continuously on their ships.

It will, I think, be apparent to the most casual student of the sea service that it would be very difficult to meet this requirement. Other officers would be called upon to do the work of those who had gone to the Air Force, would during those ten years have gone through the highly technical training courses, and would have become experienced and capable officers. In order to take back officers who had been serving in another force they would have to be displaced or passed over, whilst the former would not have profited by the same advantages of naval training and could not, therefore, be regarded as equally efficient.

My object in describing what occurred in those early peace days is to make it quite clear that the difficulties were of a very real character, and that it was not a matter

of jealousy between the services or of unwillingness on the part of the Admiralty officials, whether sailor or civilian, to approach the question with an open mind. On the contrary, the problem was approached by both sides with a genuine desire to face the facts and to find a solution which would ensure efficiency and so strengthen the available means of national defence.

I do not think I am misrepresenting the attitude of my Board when I say that their conception of the duties of the Air Ministry was that the responsibilities of the latter should be confined to the selection of the right type of machine for all purposes, entire responsibility for the purchase of materials and for construction, and for the control of an Air Force intended to be used for action independent of either the naval or military departments, and also for the development of civilian and commercial air services. They considered that the fighting departments should be charged with the duty of deciding what machines would be necessary for their purposes, and that they should have absolute control of this branch of the Air Service.

Speaking for myself, I have never altered my view that both efficiency and economy are more likely to be secured if the fighting departments are allowed to control all the forces under them, and if this policy were adopted I cannot help thinking that some, at all events, of the difficulties which stand in the way of a satisfactory solution would disappear, the issue would be more limited, and it would be easier to arrive at a decision.

I do not think there can be any doubt that many distinguished and experienced officers entertain feelings of the gravest anxiety as to the future of the Navy, if responsibility for, and control over, the Air Branch is to be divorced from the general responsibility and control of the Admiralty over naval forces. No doubt

flying machines are destined to a very large extent to replace light cruisers or destroyers as the eyes and ears of the Fleet. If this be so, surely it must be right that they should be under the direct command of the Commander-in-Chief, that officers and men should look to him and the Admiralty for promotion, and, above all, that no opening should be given for such differences to occur between the flying force and the sailing force as to lead to any diminution of that high standard of discipline for which the Navy has always been famous.

However, as I write, the whole question is still under consideration, and I believe is to be discussed in the coming session. Consequently, anything which I say will probably be out of date by the time it is read. I venture to record my views because, whilst they were formed in the early days of the controversy, nothing which I have heard or read has tended in any way to weaken them. I believe that I approached this question with an open mind, and I have given to it from beginning to end the most impartial and careful consideration. I have had the advantage of discussing the whole matter, not only with naval and military officers, but also with air officers, and I cannot but fear that if a policy such as the one I have indicated be not adopted, very serious consequences may result to the injury of the efficiency of the Navy as a whole.

It is remarkable that, so far as I know, we are almost the only country that has actually adopted the policy of a separate Air Ministry, and I am one of those who are slow to believe that we are entitled to claim that *we must* be right, and that all those who differ from us must be wrong.

There is one aspect of this question—the future constitution of the Navy—which stands, I think, by itself. In the past we owed our national security to the fact that we have been mistress of the seas. Consequently we have

been able to secure the safety of our trade routes in all parts of the world; and further than this, the visits of the ships forming our different foreign squadrons have done no little work in spreading confidence and giving unmistakable signs of what our Navy is. Whatever changes may be in store, I hope, indeed I am sure, that these facts will be borne in mind and that nothing will be done which is calculated to interfere with the work which I believe the Navy must continue to carry out, as it is inconceivable that the presence of an aeroplane or any other flying machine will have the effect which is produced by the White Ensign on the sea, or that the work which the Navy has done in this respect can be achieved by any other force.

We are all familiar with the old saying that "Trade follows the flag." I believe this to be as true to-day as it ever was. I remember an account given me by a distinguished officer who had been serving as a military attaché in a distant part of the world. He told me not long after he had vacated his appointment that on one occasion he had been engaged for some time in endeavouring to assist in the development of some commercial enterprise in which British trade was concerned, and in the furtherance of this business he had been deputed to give such aid as was consistent with his duties and his position. He told me that he had met with unexpected obstacles in his path, and though after some days very little remained to be done, it seemed to him to be impossible to bring matters to a conclusion. He went in one morning to the office of the Ministry. He was immediately ushered into the "presence," and the whole transaction so far as he was concerned was concluded in a few minutes. He was very much surprised at this sudden change, so he called upon an acquaintance to tell him what had happened. His friend said: "I am not at all surprised. I can give

you the reason; look out of the window." The window commanded a fine view of the bay on the shores of which the town stood, and on looking out there he saw a British light cruiser flying the White Ensign. She had merely come in there as part of her ordinary cruise, but the resident of the town said: "The visit of that ship accounts for what has happened." She suddenly appeared with no hostile intent, and of course, knowing nothing of the business in hand, but the mere presence of the ship, small though she was, with all the attendant glory of the British Navy, and the famous flag flying, produced an immediate effect and brought about results which might otherwise have never been obtained, or only after long and continued delay.

He spoke with considerable knowledge and experience of these matters, and he said: "I am sure it is impossible to exaggerate the importance to British trade in all parts of the world which is the direct consequence of 'showing the flag.'"

Another instance I would give of the wonderful effect our ships have upon our own people. During the great strike in 1919 some of our ships were sent to different ports as an indication of the power of the Navy to intervene on the side of the law and good government, if unhappily it should be necessary. In one case we had sent a battleship, and we were anxious not to keep her there longer than was absolutely necessary, as the anchorage was not a satisfactory one. Therefore, believing all was quiet, we gave orders for her to return to her base. The chief magistrate of the town, who was, of course, responsible for the peace and quiet of the place, telegraphed, begging that the order should be rescinded, to which I demurred for the reason already given. He appealed over my head to the Prime Minister, and informed him that the presence of this ship, lying off the town, would have a

greater effect upon the turbulent spirits in the place and upon the general forces of disorder than the presence of any number of troops. The Prime Minister requested me to allow her to remain, which of course I did.

I mention these two incidents because they both came under my personal observation, and impressed me greatly at the time. They seemed to me to indicate that the services rendered by the Navy in peace time are of the utmost importance to the Empire and to our country, and could not, so far as I know, be rendered by the Air Force, whatever may be the developments of the future. For this reason, among others, I would say, with full respect to the great authorities who advocate the scrapping of our big ships, that we must hold our hands and not abandon this mighty engine of self-defence until we are absolutely satisfied that we have something able to take its place, and I don't think this is likely to happen for many a day to come.

I hope we shall always have a sufficient number of light cruisers to enable us to show the flag in all parts of the world, work for which they are specially fitted, as I believe this is the most potent influence which can be used to maintain the great position of our Empire, and to secure peace, progress and good trade.

As one result of the controversy as to the control of the air, a discussion arose in my time, and continues, as to the effect on what are called "Big Ships" of the development of the Air Force. Many experienced men, some of them belonging to the Navy, appear to hold the belief that the day of the "Big Ship" is over, and that the war in the future will be in the air. On a matter so technical I do not venture to express an opinion. This much I ask leave to say—I have no doubt that the future, at no very distant date, has many wonderful developments in store for us; but, speaking for the present, I aver that, with the knowledge we now possess, it would be a grave

dereliction of duty were the Admiralty to abandon "BIG SHIPS" and allow their policy to be governed by the cry we have recently heard in the Press of "*Scrap the lot.*" As a landsman and civilian, I must say that I firmly believe the day is far distant when we can afford to do without a sufficient force of "Big Ships," together with their complement of smaller ships, and, supplementing them, their own Air Force to act as the eyes of the fleet.

Whilst cruising in the *Enchantress*, it was my good fortune to visit all our stations at home, and to inspect the component parts of our fleet. Since I left the Admiralty I have visited Malta, the headquarters of the Mediterranean Fleet. As the result of my observations I came to the deliberate conclusion that, so long as we intend to maintain a Navy of fighting ships, the "Big Ship" is of vital importance to the training of both officers and men. It is only in a "Big Ship," with its multitudinous duties and immense responsibilities, that training can, at all events until a substitute be devised, be effective. One has only to be aboard a battleship at sea going through exercises to realize how wonderful is the system and how complete is the training. In my opinion there is no school so thorough and efficient in its methods as that which is to be found in one of the King's "Big Ships." Therefore, apart altogether from their undoubted and enormous value as fighting units, I am satisfied as a result of all I have seen, heard and read, that the naval force containing "Big Ships" is essential to efficiency.

The building programme was another question we had to decide, including of course the nature of the ships. We had to face a most vigorous controversy in the Press, which was led by that distinguished sailor, the late Lord Fisher. Great faith was naturally placed in his views, and I have no doubt they largely influenced public opinion.

The Admiralty had to present their proposals to the

Committee of Imperial Defence, to whom they were, of course, referred by the Prime Minister. I was compelled to resign before this question was settled, but I am glad to know that the more difficult part of the discussion has approached a settlement, and that the foundations were laid, in my time, for the ultimate decision. This, no doubt, involves a heavy expenditure, but, as is the case with the individual, insurance against loss is the best means of safeguarding property, so in the present conditions, is maintaining the Navy the only safe policy for the country.

It has always been our pride that we hold the supremacy of the seas. It is essential to us, for our own protection as an island country, because our trade is world-wide, and therefore our trade-routes must be secure, and because our Dominions, which lie in all parts of the world, have hitherto looked to us, and rightly, for their protection at sea. Personally, I feel that before many years have passed over our heads, our great self-governing Dominions will take their full share by providing their own navies, which will be trained with ours, and will be ready at any time to take the sea as a British Empire Force. This moment has not yet arrived, and therefore it was and is our duty to see that the British Navy is sufficient and efficient for the work it has to do.

As a result of the Washington Conference it is a startling fact that we have reduced our Navy in a far greater degree than has any other country in the world. Here are the figures taken from the most recent returns :

	Britain.		U.S.A.		Japan.		France.		Italy.		Germany.	
Battleships ...	18	*2*	31	*9*	11	*2*	9	—	12	—	8	—
Battle Cruisers.	4	—	—	*4*	7	*2*	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cruisers	2	—	10	—	—	—	6	—	3	—	—	—
Light Cruisers .	48	*4*	9	*10*	15	*14*	5	*3*	10	*2*	2	*1*
T.B.D.'s	185	*4*	318	—	72	*38*	50	*12*	52	*4*	16	—
Submarines ...	66	*8*	104	*27*	40	*39*	47	*13*	43	*4*	—	—

The figures in italics indicate the vessels now building or projected. The table shows that we are absolutely sincere in our professions, and it gives me the opportunity to confirm the statements I have made previously that the British people will be prepared at all times, so far as the future can be foreseen, to support the Admiralty of the day in the proposals they make for the strength of the Navy. I honestly confess that, at first glance, the figures startled me. I never thought to see such phrases in a British newspaper as "*The Little British Navy*," or "*The British Navy is no longer a vast Armada.*" These phrases are not used to create alarm or in terms of derision, but are actually expressing facts. If it were not for our confidence in the Board of Admiralty, I should feel at this moment profoundly anxious. As it is, I am confident that our naval advisers have gone to the utmost limit of safety in consenting to the reduction of our fleet, and I recognize that the British Government, supported by their naval advisers, have given emphatic effect to the Washington agreement. At the same time our naval advisers are satisfied that if, unfortunately, they are called upon to defend our shores or to maintain the Empire, they can do so effectively.

In connection with the question of the reduction of naval armaments, it is only fair that it should be known that the question was raised before the great conference at Washington. During the Peace Conference in Paris, the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, whose desire for peace and the reduction of armaments is well known, instructed me to seek an interview with the U.S.A. Secretary for the Navy, Mr. Josephus Daniels, who was then in Paris, and to try to come to some arrangement which would lead to a mutual reduction of our navies. Mr. Lloyd George, with whose views I was, of course, very familiar, gave me a perfectly free hand to take such steps as I thought right to bring

about this result. I accordingly arranged for an interview between Mr. Daniels and his Chief Naval Adviser, Admiral Benson, the opposite number of our First Sea Lord, and myself and our First Sea Lord. We met on more than one occasion at their headquarters at the Hôtel Crillon. We discussed the whole question in the fullest possible manner, and I need hardly say on the most friendly terms. I mention the fact in order to show that in those early days there was a very real and genuine desire on the part of many of us to reduce our armaments if it were possible to do so with safety, and with due regard to the fighting forces of other countries, however friendly and closely allied to us they might be.

Since then the Conference has taken place under changed conditions as regards ourselves and the U.S.A., and indeed the world, and success has been secured. That Lord Balfour was our representative was, no doubt, the main factor in securing this result. But to-day, as in 1919, we have been the first to give actual proof of our desire for real reductions, and it ought not, I think, ever to be forgotten that Mr. Lloyd George was, so far as I know, the first of the world's statesmen to instruct his Ministers to make an attempt in this direction.

As everybody knows, the German fleet, which before the War was said to be going to do wonderful things, had narrowly escaped destruction at the Battle of Jutland, and had limped home, saved by darkness and wholly undeserved good fortune. As a condition of the Terms of the Armistice it had surrendered to Admiral Sir David Beatty, Commander-in-Chief of the British Fleet, and was interned in the great harbour at Scapa Flow, which had been chosen as the most suitable for the purpose. This place was selected by the Allies as being the best, and apparently the Germans had accepted their fate.

Suddenly there came a bolt from the blue, the world

was informed that the German ships had been sunk at their moorings! It was difficult to understand why this amazing thing had been done or how it had been accomplished, but a succession of telegrams confirmed the early news and made it clear that there was no doubt as to the facts. While we at the Admiralty were wondering what on earth had possessed the German Admiral, statements appeared in the Press, coming from abroad, to the effect that the ships had been sunk with the connivance of the British Admiralty in order to avoid such division between the Allies as might ultimately be decided upon at the Peace Conference, and it was suggested that this was done by us as we had all the ships we wanted and did not wish our Allies to have more.

First, the question was asked by our friends at home, why the Admiralty had not placed sufficient guards in each ship to make such a desperate act impossible. The whole story was due to a complete ignorance of the facts connected with the internment. It is true that the ships had been surrendered, but they were not prizes of war. They were merely interned, and a British harbour was selected for the purpose, because, as I have said, it seemed to be the most convenient place. It would have been actually illegal for us to have taken charge of them and to have placed guards on board.

However, for a short time it seemed as if a royal row was in progress, and it became my duty to answer questions in Parliament. Fortunately the facts were quite clear. It was possible for me to give our Ambassadors in foreign countries the necessary information in the fullest possible form, and to reply to questions in the House of Commons in so emphatic a manner as to remove all misapprehensions, and to make it quite evident that we were not responsible in any way, and that the suggestions of connivance on the part of the Admiralty were not only unjust but really absurd.

It was a remarkable incident, and, if any experience is to be gained from it, it would show that if such an occasion were to occur again, which is extremely unlikely, it would be desirable, not merely to intern the ships, but to treat them as prizes of war.

Later on I visited Scapa and saw the ships, some of them still above water at low tide, some of them lying wrecked on the shore. I went over many of them, and it was remarkable to see what immense amount of trouble the Germans had taken to destroy them before opening the cocks and leaving them to sink. They had smashed everything inside the ships, even wash-basins, utensils and fittings of all kinds. They must have gone round systematically in order to do the extraordinary amount of damage they had perpetrated. What can have been in the minds of the German officers who ordered and arranged it? They had made up their minds to sink the ships. They had schemed, secretly and cleverly, as is their wont, in a wonderful way to secure the result they had in view. Why were they not willing that those splendid ships, which had done them no harm, should go to the bottom intact? Were they afraid that we should raise them and did they determine to render them useless?

I have always thought that this incident, quite apart from the fact of sinking the ships, throws a lurid light upon the mentality of the German nation, and proves without a doubt they will stop at nothing in their desire to wreak what they regard as vengeance, when they are no longer able to offer effective opposition.

I hope that I am not vindictive, that I do not want to retain the miserable recollections of war, or to entertain any feeling which could be described as spiteful towards those who provoked it and conducted it in so brutal a manner, but, as a plain ordinary individual, a lover of my country, proud of her past, anxious so far as is possible

to secure her future, I feel, more strongly than perhaps I feel anything else, that the lessons we learnt in those fateful years 1914-1918 ought to be ever present in our minds. One of our primary propensities is, when we have been through troublous times and have emerged from them successfully, as, thank God, has nearly always been the case, we are prone to forget the facts in their true sequence and proportion, and to fail altogether to appreciate the importance of the lessons which we ought to have learned. It does not matter whether it be reparations, maintenance of armed forces at sea, on land, or in the air, in trade competition, or in the present trouble on the Ruhr, there can be no doubt that many and varied considerations ought to be present to our minds. It is possibly true that to every argument in favour of this view there is some reply. But I firmly believe it to be true that the German mentality is different to that of any other nation, and that unless we appreciate the true meaning of this fact we shall not eliminate, as we desire to do, the risk of another war provoked by the German nation and carried on by them in the same ruthless and cruel way, which marked their conduct of the late War, and increased a hundred-fold by the inventions which, in a very few years, must make war even more terrible than it is to-day.

Let us suppose that the orders for the destruction of the German Fleet came from Headquarters, that they were planned and devised in their various details by the Admiral and officers in command, they could not have been carried out in the manner I have described, and with the results I myself witnessed, without the really heart-whole connivance of every man and boy in the fleet. I, for one, refuse to believe that any British naval officer would ever have made the plans, or if he had, any British seaman would have brought all his strength or mind into the tremendous work of carrying them out.

The Germans, on the contrary, after doing all they could to win the War by the most brutal and the most despicable methods, were not ashamed to use all their knowledge and all their strength to destroy their own ships. In face of this, it is idle to pretend that the German people are as sheep driven to the slaughter, are the unwilling servants of their Prussian masters, and are not to be held to account. On the contrary, I think the great lesson that we have got to learn is the difference between the Allies and the Germans (excluding their Allies) in the recent War, and that it is well expressed in the story of the dying usurer. While all people are anxious, if they can honestly do so, to make money and improve their position, the old usurer on his death-bed is said to have bequeathed to his son this advice: "My son, make money, honestly if you can, but make it anyhow." That I believe to be the German attitude. Win your contest, whatever it may be, honestly if you can, but win it.

I cannot help thinking that we ought to take the great experiences gained in the War very closely to our hearts, and to be governed by them in all our future relations with the German people, until, at all events, they make it clear by a continuous series of acts, not by mere words, that they too profited by their sufferings and have learnt their lesson, and are determined to adopt a totally different line in future. These, at all events, are the convictions, not merely impressions, which I have formed, and I hope that, in dealing with the present or in making forecasts for the future, the facts to which I have referred will be borne in mind and carefully considered by those who are responsible for framing the conditions that are to obtain in the relations between the German people and ourselves.

Although during my time at the Admiralty we were at peace, I had what I suppose might be called a minor experience of war conditions in connection with the First Light Cruiser Squadron, which composed the British Baltic

Force, which was under the command of that gallant fighting Admiral, Sir Walter Cowan.

The rule of the Bolsheviks was in its infancy, and nothing was known of their policy or their intentions. Therefore it became the duty of the British Government to have a naval force in the Baltic in order to protect our merchant ships from any attack which might be made upon them by Bolshevik ships issuing from the Gulf of Riga. We had fairly accurate information as to the constitution of the Bolshevik naval force and its condition, and we knew that, while their big fighting ships were by no means efficient, they had a force of submarines which might emerge at any moment and attack us. We were not supposed to be at war, indeed we were not; we were acting as a defensive force, probably the most difficult position in which a man can find himself, especially if he is by nature and temperament a fighter who believes that the best way in which to protect the interests and prestige of his flag, and to assure the safety of the force under his command, is not to wait to be attacked, but himself to attack. It was known that our ships were there, and I was bombarded with questions in the House of Commons as to the reason, what they were doing, and what were the relations between us and the existing Russian Government. It was most difficult to deal with these attacks, and yet it was obviously desirable that the position in the Baltic should be made clear.

The conditions under which our officers and men were serving were of the most trying description. Apart from their natural desire to "have a go" at the enemy, from which they had to refrain, they were living in light cruisers which are not in any way suited to the extreme cold to which, in those waters, they were for the greater part of the year exposed. We did our best at the Admiralty to provide them with extra clothing and special food, and

in other ways to compensate them for the trials which they had to endure.

The time at last arrived when we at the Board felt that it really was not safe to continue playing a waiting game. It was not considered desirable to send out bigger ships, although these would have been better suited to the climatic conditions. We came to the conclusion that we must take the offensive, when, and how, it should be deemed expedient by the Admiral on the spot. The alternative was to withdraw our force, perhaps to Copenhagen, where, by the hospitality and generosity of the Danish Government, we had made our base—or bring it home altogether.

I do not know who derived the greatest satisfaction from the instructions which were eventually dispatched to the Admiral, he or the Board of Admiralty, but I do know that we all realized it meant a prompt termination of the period of doubt, and that an end would soon come to our difficulties.

Ultimately Sir Walter Cowan attacked the ships lying below Kronstadt. There were three separate attacks and three V.C.'s were awarded. The facts are as follows :

COMMANDER CLAUDE C. DOBSON, V.C., D.S.O.
Awarded V.C. (*London Gazette*, November 11th, 1919.)

On the 18th August, 1919, Commander Dobson was both leader and organizer of the coastal motor boat flotilla which attacked the Russian warships in Kronstadt Harbour. As such he led the C.M.B.'s through the chain of forts to the entrance of Kronstadt Harbour, after which C.M.B. 31BD, in which he was, with Lieutenant R. McBean in command, passed in and torpedoed the Bolshevik battleship *Andrei Pervozanni*, under very heavy machine-gun fire.

Lieutenant Gordon C. Steele, V.C. (*London Gazette*, November 11th, 1919.)

Second in command of C.M.B. 88 during the attack on Kronstadt Harbour, 18th August, 1919. After entering the harbour, and whilst turning to torpedo the battleship *Andrei Pervozanni*, his captain was shot through the head and the boat thrown off its course. Lieutenant Steele took the wheel, steadied the boat, and torpedoed the *Andrei Pervozanni* at a hundred yards range. He had immediately to turn six points to port and then again to starboard to get his shot at the battleship *Petropavlovsk*, which ship was overlapped by the *Andrei Pervozanni*, and also obscured by smoke from that ship. He then successfully torpedoed her, after which he had only just room to turn round and regain the entrance, which he did, firing his machine guns along the wall on his way out, and passing again through the line of forts under a very heavy fire.

Lieut.-Commander Augustine W. S. Agar, V.C., D.S.O. Awarded V.C. (*London Gazette*, August 22nd, 1919.)

In command of C.M.B.'s 4 and 7, operating in the Baltic early in 1919. On the 17th June he decided to make an attack on the Bolshevik naval forces in Kronstadt roads. On entering the roads, and when about four miles south-east of Tolboukin Lighthouse, he saw the Bolshevik cruiser *Oleg* at anchor, guarded by four destroyers, a sloop and a torpedo-boat. Passing between the destroyers and the torpedo-boat, he made for the *Oleg* at full speed and torpedoed her, returning to sea under a heavy fire.

Lieut.-Commander Agar was also awarded the D.S.O. for services during the attack on Kronstadt Harbour, August 18th, 1919.

We undoubtedly succeeded in making the Bolshevik Government understand that we were masters of the situation, but the distinguished Admiral and his most gallant officers and men, although they had played a brilliant part, did not obtain the recognition of their services which would have been the case had the operations formed a part of the regular proceedings of war. It was not a time when any of the ordinary proposals for awards, which generally follow naval or military operations, would have been acceptable to either Parliament or the country. Nobody realizes more than the British sailor that these minor incidents of a warlike character must frequently occur in a great wide-flung Empire such as ours, and may often meet with no visible recognition by the country. I think it is the truth to say that they appreciate to the full the words of the sailor poet when he wrote :

> " If you win through an African jungle
> Unnoticed at home by the Press
> Do not heed it, no one seeth the piston
> But it driveth the ship none the less."

They know that these splendid acts, whether performed in war or any other time, redound to the credit and glory of their beloved service. That it is by their devoted courage and self-sacrifice that the strength of the Empire is maintained, and in this knowledge they find their reward.

It was certainly true of the British Baltic Force and Admiral Cowan. They did their part splendidly and loyally, without any thought for themselves, and content with the knowledge that they were doing their duty.

It may be a very belated and poor return, but I rejoice to be able to pay this small tribute to that gallant naval force, and to place on record these simple facts.

Sir Walter Cowan was later on given command of the Battle Cruiser Squadron, Atlantic Fleet, a due recognition of his splendid services during the War and on the occasion

to which I have referred. I only regret that, owing to my retirement, it did not fall to my lot to personally offer him this command.

Before I close my recollections of my time at the Admiralty I should like to say something about the Admiralty yacht *Enchantress*, and the direct and immense advantages which flow from the opportunities afforded to the First Lord of the Admiralty, with such of his naval colleagues as he chooses to take with him, to visit our Fleet and our ports, not only at home, but in all parts of the world. I can speak from personal experience. When I first went to the Admiralty, the *Enchantress* had been made ready for service, but had not been actually commissioned. As economy was very important, I attempted to pay my visits by going overland, visiting the ships when I got to the different ports, but having no Admiralty yacht as my headquarters. I very soon found that this was an impossible task. It must almost always be the case that the First Lord requires to take with him a great many secret papers, bulky plans, maps and documents. It is very difficult to convey them about and to keep them in safety, if he is dependent upon private house or hotel accommodation. Further than this, it is a very different thing for him to be host on what is for the time being his own ship, from being the guest of naval officers on their ships, or to be obliged to arrange his meetings and offer his hospitality in an hotel. I can say for myself, speaking quite dispassionately, and I hope thinking solely for the good of the Navy, that the existence of a sufficiently large yacht for the use of the First Lord is essential for the proper carrying out of his duties. Not only is it his Admiralty office afloat, in which he can interview officers of all ranks in complete privacy, but he can arrange these interviews in such a way that they shall be most convenient to the officers and therefore productive of really good results.

In my deliberate opinion it is impossible to exaggerate the value of the experience of the practical life of a ship which the First Lord gains by living on board the Admiralty yacht, where he has the opportunity of observing the working of a small ship in all its details; from which he can go at his own time in his own boat or "barge," as it is called, and visit ships of all kinds, inform himself on the way in which the different ranks, from the highest to the lowest, are performing their duties, and make himself generally acquainted with the Navy. He is able to learn more of the Navy in its everyday life than can be possible by any other method. In no other way can he himself be inspired by the fine "spirit of the Navy," which is the secret of its success and greatness, and can only be acquired by living among sailors and taking advantage of the opportunities which occur of observing their life and their work.

I visited the Home Fleet under the command of Sir Charles Madden, that most distinguished sailor who succeeded Lord Beatty when he came to the Admiralty as First Sea Lord. Sir Charles took me from Rosyth to see some torpedo attacks. I shall never forget the impression on my mind of the sight of two great battleships lying under the lee of the land waiting for the operations to start. They seemed to imply majesty and power in a greater degree than anything I have ever seen, and I was greatly struck by all that happened aboard the *Queen Elizabeth* during the torpedo practice. This would have been possible, no doubt, without the Admiralty yacht, but it was only a part of the work of my visit, as from the time we dropped anchor until we left there was a constant succession of interviews. From early morning till late at night I was fulfilling engagements, some of course on shore, but most of them with one officer after another, during which the work of the Navy in all its details was the subject of discussion, and I affirm that this can never be done with equal

privacy and fullness if the First Lord has to be dependent upon others for his temporary home.

I had occasion to go to Copenhagen, where our Baltic Force had their base. Some difficulties had cropped up which threatened to cause inconvenience and trouble, and we felt at the Admiralty that it would be better for me to go there myself and ascertain exactly what they were and try to remove them. Of course a special ship could, no doubt, have been arranged for the purpose, but I do not believe there would have been any economy and it would certainly not have been a satisfactory way of performing my duty.

I had a most interesting time. We visited Heligoland, which was then in process of being dismantled under the direction of British naval officers and Royal Engineers. Of its kind it was perhaps the most wonderful place I have ever seen. An immense fortress from one end to the other. The island seemed to have been scooped out and vast subterranean chambers of concrete constructed, with gun-emplacements on the top and every device for making it an impregnable stronghold. It was impossible not to regret the fact that such wonderful work had to be demolished. We saw all this amazing creation being blasted, broken up and destroyed, and the fragments cast into the sea. I have not visited it since, but I suppose that long before this nothing remains of the great labour and expenditure which, during many years, had been devoted to the provision of a fortress of exceptional strength and efficiency. It is really interesting to remember that all the millions which the Germans had spent upon the place were thrown away, as it was practically never used during the War.

We then passed through the Kiel Canal, that wonderful waterway which the Germans had been compelled by the British Fleet to use during the War as a safe anchorage for their ships—a very different purpose from that for which it had been originally constructed!

HELIGOLAND.
Turrets "Anna" and "Bertha" of South Group.

HELIGOLAND.
The Harbour—completed in 1914.

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At Copenhagen I was received with the utmost kindness by their Majesties the King and Queen of Denmark, the Prime Minister, and Members of the Government. It was soon evident that the difficulties were due to some misapprehension, and after several interviews it was quite easy to put things right and to secure the continuance of the generous hospitality which the Danes had extended to H.M. ships.

An amusing incident occurred, owing to a rather quaint mistake which had been made in our Foreign Office. The Admiralty had, before I left, communicated to the Foreign Office that "*H.M.S. Enchantress*, with the First Lord of the Admiralty on board, was going to pay a visit to Heligoland, and passing through the Kiel Canal, visit Copenhagen." I suppose some enterprising young clerk had looked up an old Navy List, and, quite oblivious of the fact that three First Lords had held office between my tenure and that of Mr. Winston Churchill, had telegraphed that "the *Enchantress* was coming out with Mr. Winston Churchill on board!" This information was in due course passed to the Government in Copenhagen. They knew that Mr. Winston Churchill was not First Lord. Thinking there must be some special reason for the British Secretary of State for War paying a visit to these waters, they became extremely apprehensive as to the cause, and they did not conceal their relief when they found that there was nothing special, certainly not alarming, in connection with the fact that the First Lord was visiting the Baltic Force at its headquarters! There again I was able to have on board, not only the officers of the ships lying at Copenhagen, but the Commodore of the Baltic Force, who came over to see me, and it was possible to discuss matters on the spot and acquire first-hand information without which it would have been impossible to remove the misunderstandings and perhaps prevent serious difficulties.

I was also able to see something of a distinguished French naval officer, commanding a ship which was lying there, and to receive him on board the *Enchantress* on more than one occasion and to discuss with him matters of common interest to the people of France and ourselves connected with the Navy.

During other cruises which I made in the *Enchantress*, when I visited French ports, among them Dunkerque, I met many distinguished French officers, among them Admiral Ronach, who played such a distinguished part when he commanded the French Marines in the operations in the early days of the War for the relief of Antwerp.

Looking back upon all this, and I have only given a hurried survey of a great many cruises and have only referred to a few of the places visited and of the incidents which occurred, I do not hesitate to say that "the office" on board the Admiralty yacht is by far the most fruitful and instructive place for any First Lord, far better than his room at the Admiralty or in the House of Commons. In these places there is always some stiffness or formality. Naval officers are brought up from long distances. They are detached from their surroundings, have not access to maps, plans and books, and cannot do one-tenth of the work which is possible and is done with ease when they are interviewed on board the *Enchantress*, when it is a simple matter for them to bring in their boat all the material they can possibly require in connection with the subjects they have been summoned to discuss.

One other feature must not be ignored—by visiting the Fleets and the various ships the First Lord is able to make the personal acquaintance of a very large number of officers whom he would otherwise not meet. It follows that he would not know them, and they would only know him by name. I am convinced that the great majority of officers will confirm the views I have expressed, and

HELIGOLAND.
Visit of the Kaiser in 1917.

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endorse the statement I very definitely make that in time of peace the Admiralty yacht is essential to the due discharge of the duties of the First Lord.

An event of great importance occurred before I had been long in office—the change in the office of First Sea Lord. Sir Rosslyn Wemyss, as he then was, had held the appointment since early 1918, and had been responsible, not only for the concluding operations of the War, but was also Naval Adviser to the Prime Minister during the Peace, duties which he had discharged with the greatest loyalty and devotion. He had served continuously with the Fleet before coming to the Admiralty and he took office at a very difficult time. It can never be forgotten that he held the high position as First Naval Adviser to the Government in times of the gravest anxiety. Throughout he never lost his cheeriness or his confidence, and he ultimately succeeded in making a signal contribution to the Victory in which we all so greatly rejoice. That His Majesty was graciously pleased to make him an Admiral of the Fleet, the highest honour which can be conferred upon any British sailor, and to raise him to the Peerage is proof of the fact that our Gracious Sovereign recognized and appreciated the eminent services he had rendered to the Empire.

His place was taken by the great sailor who had commanded the Grand Fleet at the termination of the War, in which he had played so glorious a part, especially in the Battle of Jutland, and was acclaimed by all to be the right man to be First Sea Lord, indeed the only man. During the time I had the honour to serve with him, he gave abundant proof of the justice of public opinion and of the unassailable claim which he had to become the First Naval Adviser to the King and the King's Government.

I shall always esteem it a great privilege to have had the opportunity to serve with Lord Beatty. He inspired one with the greatest confidence, was ever ready to hear

what others had to say, but when once he had arrived at a definite conclusion nothing could shake him, and he was always ready and able to justify it.

I am tempted to append a list of the Board when I first went to the Admiralty and the changes that took place, because I think it will show how thoroughly justified I am in the statement I have made more than once that my naval officers not only were officers of great experience, but had, all of them, played in different capacities a most distinguished part in the War.

The Board that I joined was as follows :

DECEMBER, 1918.

1st Sea Lord.—Admiral Sir R. E. Wemyss.

2nd Sea Lord.—Vice-Admiral Sir H. L. Heath, appointed Commander-in-Chief Rosyth, and succeeded by Admiral Sir Montagu Browning.

Controller.—Commodore Bartolomé, succeeded by Rear-Admiral W. C. M. Nicholson.

4th Sea Lord.—Rear-Admiral Sir Hugh Tothill.

Deputy 1st Sea Lord.—Rear-Admiral Hope.

D.C.N.S.—Vice-Admiral Fremantle.

A.C.N.S.—Vice-Admiral Sir A. L. Duff, succeeded by Rear-Admiral J. A. Fergusson.

After I left it was composed, in March, 1921, of :

1st Sea Lord.—Earl Beatty.

2nd Sea Lord.—Vice-Admiral Sir Henry Oliver.

Controller.—Rear-Admiral Field.

4th Sea Lord.—Rear-Admiral the Hon. A. D. Boyle.

D.C.N.S.—Vice-Admiral Sir O. de B. Brock.

A.C.N.S.—Rear-Admiral Sir A. E. M. Chatfield.

Although, unfortunately for me, I was only able to remain at the Admiralty for two years, it is a remarkable

fact that during that short time I had to fill every post at the Board of Admiralty and the naval commands, without, I think, a single exception, including that of Sir John de Robeck, a very gallant and distinguished officer, to the command of the Mediterranean Fleet, and of a very old friend and distinguished sailor, Sir Montagu Browning, as Second Sea Lord. This meant that I was brought into direct contact with all the most distinguished flag officers in the service. Working, as I did, day in and day out with my naval colleagues on the Board, and having to make selections for the various appointments afloat and ashore, I had abundant opportunities to become closely acquainted with naval officers. It is, of course, the case that the First Lord is largely dependent upon the advice he receives from the First Sea Lord and from his naval colleagues, but, none the less, the responsibility rests with him for selecting the right men for the various posts which he may have to fill. Among those colleagues he enjoys the great advantage of the constant presence of his Naval Secretary, who is able to supply him with information of a personal and technical character which is essential to the proper discharge of his duties. I was fortunate indeed in the fact that Sir Rudolph Bentinck had become Naval Secretary shortly before I went to the Admiralty. I cannot exaggerate the value of the services which he rendered to me, and I owe him a debt I can never repay for help, without which it would have been far more difficult for me to perform my duties with any degree of success.

Apart from making these appointments, the War had left a very much larger number of flag officers of distinguished service, and other officers below flag rank, than it was possible to find places for in the reduced establishment. Naturally there were many officers with unblemished records who felt that they had many years'

work left in them and who were anxious for further employment, not merely because it meant honour and pay, considerations which must weigh with every man, to whatever profession he belongs, but because they were devoted to their great service and because they were anxious not to have their careers brought to an end.

I take this opportunity of making my bow to the British Admiral. It was my duty in many cases to be called upon to intimate to them that there was no prospect of the Board of Admiralty being able to offer them the post they desired, or indeed, in many cases, further employment. I can say quite truthfully that all of them, individually and collectively, made this most disagreeable task easier than I could have believed it possible. Indeed, in most cases, they made me believe I had offered them the very thing they felt they were on the whole entitled to.

The answer the British Admiral makes to the First Lord, who has to the best of his ability tempered his reply, but who knows that, however well he may have succeeded in his effort, his announcement brings with it keen disappointment to his hearer, is almost invariably: "I am very sorry, sir; I should naturally like to have this particular job" (or further employment, as the case might be), "but I know that you and the Board are doing what you believe to be in the best interests of the service, and I am content." He leaves one apparently as well satisfied and as pleased as if one had offered him the best thing in one's gift. Yet one knows perfectly well that he is going away with a stricken heart, because he realizes to the full that his career in the service, in which he has lived and for which he has done so much, is rapidly approaching, if it has not actually reached, its termination.

It is indeed a splendid service, where one finds the finest examples of devotion to duty and single-minded

desire to do what is best for the country and for His Majesty's Navy.

I am not, of course, going to mention names. Some of them have already retired, others are happily still in the King's service, but from all with whom I was brought into contact I received nothing but the greatest possible consideration and the most warm-hearted kindness, and since I left I have been fortunate enough to maintain the friendships I then made, and constantly to meet former naval colleagues, though not so often as I would like Whatever may have been their lot under my tenure of office as First Lord, the attitude of all of them is now similar, and they do all in their power to make me feel that they have nothing but gratitude to me. I think this is a great tribute to be able to pay to a body of distinguished men, and I can safely say that I, at least, realize to the full what is meant by the word "DUTY," and I left the Admiralty feeling that I was an infinitely better man for the experience I had gained in all my relations with the officers and men of the Royal Navy.

My retirement was eventually enforced by a complete breakdown in health. The last Cabinet I attended was in October, at the beginning of the autumn session, in the Prime Minister's room in the House of Commons. I was suffering intense pain and I had the greatest difficulty in sitting through it. I had to go home and send for my doctor, who put me to bed, and ultimately sent me to Rood Ashton. I came to London later in an ambulance, in the hope that I might derive some benefit from fresh treatment, but I had eventually to go back, a badly stricken man.

I, of course, intimated to the Prime Minister that my resignation was in his hands. He and my own Party Leader, Mr. Bonar Law, both showed me great consideration and desired that I should not resign so long as there

was any hope that I could get back. Towards the end of January it was manifest that my illness was going to be a long one, and I definitely placed my resignation in the hands of the Prime Minister for submission to His Majesty. Mr. Bonar Law, with his unfailing kindness and consideration, came to see me to express his personal regrets and to convey a kind message from the Prime Minister, and offered to recommend me for the King's Favour, but I gratefully declined. I had done my best, I had gone through a prolonged period of severe suffering, and I felt that the only thing was to retire, and I hoped that in a comparatively short time I should be able to return to the House of Commons as a private Member and to serve my country and my Party with the same zeal that I had endeavoured to throw into my work during the time it had been my privilege to hold a commission. This ended my connection with the Admiralty and my service as a Minister.

I received many letters from flag officers and others, and from civilian members of the Admiralty, which were of the kindest possible character and gave me the helpful consolation that, whether I had succeeded or not in rendering useful service, I had at all events been able to convince those with whom I had worked that I had striven to do my best, and after all no man can do more.

I had some touching letters from petty officers and others who had served with me, expressing their regret at my retirement. These are comforting recollections and helped me very greatly when I had to realize that I was no longer physically able to do my share in Parliamentary service.

In March, 1920, we suffered our second great bereavement by the loss of our dear elder daughter, Mrs. George Gibbs. She had devoted her whole strength to war work, and when influenza seized her in 1920 she was unable to

The late Brig.-Gen. W. Long, C.M.G., D.S.O.

My daughter—the late Mrs. George Gibbs.

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resist it and was taken from us. As of our elder son, so with her, it can truly be said that her life was given in the service of her country. She had not only provided and managed a hospital, but had done a great deal of other war work, and it had exhausted her strength.

PART IV

THE LIGHTER SIDE

CHAPTER XVIII

YEOMANRY

THE Wiltshire Yeomanry has the honour of being the premier yeomanry regiment in the United Kingdom. It was raised in 1794 in common with several other regiments, but thanks to the foresight and soldierly spirit of Lord Bruce, afterwards Marquess of Ailesbury, who was the first commanding officer, it was not allowed to remain in separate and independent troops, but was at once turned into a complete regiment. Other corps which came into existence at the same time did not take this step and therefore we obtained priority.

This Lord Ailesbury married a second time, somewhat late in life. His widow, who was known as "Maria Marchioness," was a very popular member of society and a most delightful great lady of the old school; she had actually arranged to attend the centenary of the regiment in 1894. We were greatly honoured on this occasion, as the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII., inspected us. Unfortunately Lady Ailesbury contracted a very bad chill whilst visiting one of her districts in the East End of London a few days before, and when the time came for the inspection she was too ill to be able to attend. It would surely have been an unique event if the widow of the man who had commanded the regiment

when it was raised had been present at its centenary inspection.

It was decided to form a corps of yeomanry at a meeting held at the Bear Hotel, Devizes, on the 24th April, 1794. My great-grandfather happened to be High Sheriff at the time and was called upon to preside. The ancestors of many officers in the regiment, or who have lately served in it, were present at the meeting.

I am proud to be able to say that from that time to this a member of my family, sometimes more than one at a time, has invariably held a commission. I received mine from Lord Ailesbury, who was the son of the man who raised the regiment and who also commanded it, but as I was at Oxford I was unable to attend the annual training and so never actually served under him. When Lord Ailesbury retired he was succeeded by the late Lord Bath.

Like everything else, yeomanry has changed in the most remarkable manner during the years that have passed. When I joined there was no discipline and no serious attempt was made by the officers to learn their work; the field days were carefully arranged beforehand, and each officer received from the Adjutant a card giving the movements of the day, with the various words of command, including his own. It is needless to say that in consequence the most ludicrous incidents occurred. If the C.O. changed his mind or forgot the order of the evolutions and gave a different command, the officers under him would, as likely as not, fail to realize what had happened and give their commands as they appeared on the card. However, the yeoman is a very wonderful man, and somehow or other things used to right themselves, and we managed in some sort of way to get through the day's work without any very serious discredit.

Soon after I joined, the War Office established a

training school at Aldershot for yeomanry officers. There was one old officer in the regiment who had been an infantry officer, and who resented the fact that the young officers returning from the school knew more of their work than he did. He commanded a squadron, and on one occasion I heard him addressing his men in the following terms : " —— *Squadron ! if Captain —— or Mr. —— give any orders contrary to mine, don't obey them !* " This, as may be imagined, led to considerable confusion, as he not infrequently gave the wrong word of command. His subordinate officers had to choose between what they knew to be the right order, or attempting to carry out his command, which they knew must inevitably lead to confusion.

In those days everything was done in a leisurely and easy-going fashion. Uniform was of all sorts and kinds. Morning parades never took place earlier than ten o'clock, and even then half the time on the drill ground was taken up with parade movements preparatory to inspection. Gradually, however, the new system was brought into operation. The first big change that was made was the appointment as Adjutant of an officer brought from a cavalry regiment who knew his drill and could train men. They replaced officers who, after many years with the regiment, had grown old and rusty, and who really knew no more than the average yeoman himself.

They also appointed sergt.-majors, likewise chosen from cavalry regiments, to be instructors for each troop, and a regimental sergt.-major to act under the Adjutant. All these alterations made a wonderful improvement in the yeomanry and enabled them later on to play a great part in the two big wars of our time—the South African and the European War of 1914–18.

The first year I was able to join the regiment was 1876. That year our regiment had no regular training,

as the War Office decided to save the money spent in this manner. But some minor manœuvres were held on Salisbury Plain, and the various troops were ordered to parade for one day and join different sections of the Army on sundry parts of the Plain.

I had been attached to the Warminster Troop, which was commanded on the day in question by a Mr. Barton, a small country squire of very original character, a dear old fellow and a fine specimen of his class. The troop made their rendezvous at Heytesbury. It was a very hot day and the roads were inches thick in dust. When we were preparing to march I asked Mr. Barton where I was to ride, as I had never seen a cavalry regiment up to that time and knew nothing of my work. I have a shrewd suspicion he didn't know much of his, but he looked at the sky and then at the road and said: "*W-e-ll, I think you and I will ride in front because we shall be out of the dust!*" Of course, this was quite correct, but the reason he gave was original in its character and had no relation to any military formation; it was sensible and pleased him greatly.

When we reached our destination I found there was nothing for us to do but to wait for the march-past of the various troops assembled there, which was to take place in about an hour. The sergt.-major told me that my place would be in the rear of the troop. There was an old trumpeter belonging to the troop who looked magnificent in his bandsman's dress with his bugles slung round him, but who couldn't sound a note to save his life. He heard the instructions given me a few moments before, called me on one side and, in a mysterious whisper, said: "Don't you pay any heed to what he says, you just do as I tell you; when they fall in to march past, don't you go riding behind where you'll be smothered in dust, but just fall out with me and we'll stand behind the flag-post where

we shall see everything and have no discomfort." This advice did not appear to me to be in accordance with what was right, and I obeyed the instructions given me by the sergt.-major as we went by, but I saw the trumpeter sitting proudly on his old grey horse in the exact position he had indicated. Nobody paid any attention to him. He saw the whole proceedings without any fatigue or discomfort, and told me afterwards in a voice of gentle remonstrance that I had made a great mistake and would have been much better off if I had obeyed him!

When the parade movements were over the Inspecting Officer had to find his way to units which were on other parts of the Plain. He asked for an officer from the yeomanry to act as his A.D.C. and to show him the way, as he was a complete stranger to the country. I was told off for the job and we started on our tour, I, of course, riding respectfully behind him. Before we had gone very far he called me up and told me to ride alongside him as he wished to talk about the country he was in and to get all the information he could from me. Amongst other things he told me the following amusing story. He said he had once been sent down to inspect a yeomanry regiment somewhere further west, and was given as his A.D.C. an officer who was not in his first youth. This officer addressed him in the following terms: "I have been sent, sir, to act as your A.D.C., but I am a Post Captain in the Navy, and I don't think I ought to ride behind you as you are only a Colonel in the Army, so where shall I ride?" The I.O. told me he replied: "Why, good heavens, sir, of course ride in front," which he said the old sailor proceeded to do!

We had a most desperately fatiguing afternoon, the heat was intense, the ground very hard, and we had frequently to ride at a considerable speed in order to reach our destinations in time. Our horses were absolutely

done by the time the day's work was over. I received great commendation from the I.O. because, when we had finished and had to make our way home—we were right out in the middle of the Down—I suggested we should make a detour in order to go through a little village where we could water our horses. Colonel —— (I never saw him afterwards) was, I believe, a smart officer, and I should think a good horse-master, and he was greatly pleased with me for making the suggestion.

Shortly after this, in 1877, the War Office found that our regiment had fallen so greatly in numbers that they would not be justified in maintaining it unless we could obtain a large number of recruits. Lord Bath, the Colonel, wrote and told me of this and asked me if I could raise a contingent from amongst my tenants and neighbours, to be attached to the Warminster Troop. I at once set to work, and at the next training I marched into headquarters 58 strong, a number which was increased to 64 on the day of the inspection. I think this was a very creditable performance, as I had no officer to assist me and no regular sergt.-major, having to depend on such occasional help as Sergt.-Major Nance of the Warminster Troop could give me. This, of course, saved the regiment and put an end to all fear of our being abolished.

In November of that year this detachment was formed into a separate troop and called the Rood Ashton Troop, in place of the Swindon Troop, which was broken up. It was placed under my command, though I was not gazetted captain till the following year. This, of course, made a vast difference to me. I obtained the services of Sergt.-Major Bosworth, of the Fifth Dragoon Guards, as my first sergeant-instructor, and the success which the troop afterwards obtained was in no small measure due to the extremely good work which he did. He was not what is ordinarily known as a *smart* soldier, but he had a complete

knowledge of his work and, what is equally important, he thoroughly understood the yeoman. He devoted his whole strength and energies to the troop and to the regiment. He remained with us till the end of his time in the Army, when he retired and became the manager of a club in Northampton, where he died.

He was followed by Sergt.-Major Morgan. He found yeomanry difficult to work with and went back to his regiment, ultimately becoming regimental sergt.-major.

Then came Sergt.-Major Morel, to whom I refer elsewhere in this chapter.

For many years the troop had a most successful career. The numbers grew to such an extent that we formed a squadron of our own. This was an enormous advantage to us as what were supposed to be troop drills were really squadron drills. Therefore we were able to prepare ourselves for the annual training in a manner denied to other squadrons composed of troops lying a long way from one another, who could seldom parade as a squadron.

For many years we won the regimental prizes for swordsmanship and shooting, and we had an extraordinarily strong section which won prizes, not only in our own county in yeomanry competitions, but also competed at the Naval and Military Tournament and elsewhere and gave a very good account of themselves. This was largely due to Sergeant Ashby, one of my leading tenants, who would have made an excellent and most efficient regular soldier.

I am glad to say that, though under the new establishment the strength of a troop has, I believe, been reduced to 30, the Rood Ashton Troop is in 1923 up to full strength. The officer who commands it has many names on the waiting list and nearly all the troop ride horses which they either own themselves or are lent by neighbours who are unable to serve.

This ought to be the case in every regiment. I am confident it can be done if the O.C. troop will only take enough trouble. It cannot be a good plan for the regiment to be mounted on horses, hired from dealers and others, which go round from one training to another.

We still continued to train for eight days only, including, of course, a Sunday ; to live in hotels, both officers and men, and to lead a very different life from that which obtains amongst yeomanry of to-day ; but, thanks to the introduction of adjutants and sergt.-majors, our training underwent a radical change. We were taught reconnaisance work, scouting, shooting, and far less time was wasted on parade movements. So a solid foundation was laid for the much greater improvements which have followed in recent years.

Still a great deal remained to be done. Uniform was still varied and not according to regulations ; the N.C.O.'s were, in most cases, elected by the troop, and chosen, generally, not for their knowledge of their work or efficiency, but solely because they were popular or occupied leading positions at home among the troopers. To-day uniform is generally khaki ; the regiment goes under canvas instead of living in towns ; full dress and mess dress have been abandoned, and therefore, not only is the appearance of the men much more like that of regular soldiers, but the expense falling upon officers and men has been immensely reduced, and the whole force made more soldier-like and suitable to the conditions of those who join it.

From time to time we were inspected by distinguished officers. I have mentioned the occasion of the centenary, when we had the great honour of an inspection by His late Majesty King Edward VII., then Prince of Wales. We also had the honour of an inspection by H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, C.-in-C. in the year 1885, and I remember an amusing incident that occurred on this occasion. One of

the officers who had to attend upon the C.-in-C. had spent all his life in the West Indies, and though I have no doubt he was a capable soldier, was not a very smart one to look at. It was a very wet day and blowing a gale of wind. His servant had, I suppose, cleaned his sabretache with pipe-clay, anyhow, the rain washed the mixture off and it ran in little white rivulets down the horse's sides. The animal was not in very good condition and its ribs were somewhat prominent, the result therefore was comical, as he looked exactly the reverse of a zebra, brown with long white lines. The gale of wind made the officer's plumes and cocked hat rather trying, so he took the plumes out of his hat and stuck them in his boot, and he really did present a very odd appearance. I was Second-in-Command of the regiment at the time and the Colonel had ordered me to attend upon the C.-in-C. The Duke suddenly caught sight of the unfortunate officer, called me up to him and said: "What the —— is *that?*" pointing to the officer in question. On my telling him who it was the Duke with great emphasis said: "Oh! well, take *it* away and never let me see *it* again." I had some little difficulty in executing this command, but it occurred to me the best way to carry out H.R.H.'s wishes was to tell the offender that the C.-in-C. dispensed with his services for the rest of the day.

A rather curious incident, which might have proved serious, occurred during one of the many manœuvres held on Salisbury Plain. The late Sir Baker Russell was in command of the cavalry and he saw that it was necessary to order an immediate charge. My regiment came galloping down and, of course, the horses being untrained and the men only partially so, they were advancing in rather a wild and headstrong fashion. There was a group of horsemen in front of us, out of which there suddenly emerged the Duke of Cambridge on his big roan charger. It seemed to me inevitable that H.R.H. must be knocked down and ridden

over, but I succeeded in getting ahead, up to and alongside of him. The men who were coming directly at him saw me shouting and waving, and they managed to sheer off to the right and left and we disappeared. Some time afterwards the Duke reminded me of the incident, and he told me that when he saw the yeomanry coming he thought it was all up and that he must go down, and that he was much struck with the way in which they managed to avoid him.

Shortly afterwards, when the late Lord Wolseley was C.-in-C., he came down to inspect us almost directly after he succeeded to this high office, and I was deputed to attend upon him. Whilst we were riding from the station to the parade ground, which was three or four miles off, I ventured to offer my hearty congratulations upon his appointment. It was pathetic to hear with what depth of feeling he replied that, like so many things in this life, it had come too late.

Later on he told me that he had had great experience of the Army in all its branches, but did not remember having seen a yeomanry regiment on parade before. But if all the regiments were like the one he had inspected he felt sure that they could be made into a very useful force. Prophetic words! as very shortly after this they did splendid work in South Africa. I read with great pride and pleasure in "Lord Wolseley's Life" an entry copied from his letters in which he says: "Inspected yesterday Walter Long's fine yeomanry regiment!"

In 1898 I succeeded to the command of the regiment, and after our first training, which was held at Devizes in the usual way, I took them to Weymouth in order to break up local associations, which I did not think contributed to discipline or useful work. After that we attained what had always been my ambition, namely, going into camp with other troops and so gaining much more practical and

efficient lessons than we would ever have been able to learn by living in quarters in towns. We also introduced a great change by insisting that all below the rank of sergeant should be responsible for and " do " their own horses and equipment. This alteration from the old practice was, at first, violently opposed, but in an incredibly short time all opposition disappeared and on all hands it was agreed that the change was a good one.

The yeoman is really a wonderful man, and if only those who are responsible for his training would take sufficient trouble and risk unpopularity by being strict, it would be found that a very high standard of efficiency could be obtained. Sometimes, of course, there were men who refused to take any trouble and who declared that they could not do this, that or the other. One prevailing trick was to say that they could not mount, and therefore when the regiment was ordered to dismount they would remain in their saddles. One of these, a stout sergeant, always persisted that he could only get on his horse if he had assistance. On one occasion during manœuvres, when we were charging in echelon of regiments, I saw this man, who was galloping wide on the right, come a bad cropper through his horse getting a corn-stook between his forelegs. I galloped up to him, told him to mount at once and get on. He began the usual story that he could not do it and assured me that, in addition to his usual disability, he was suffering from the effects of his fall. I said : " Well, all right, sergeant, the other regiment is coming on behind us. You have got out of the line of direction and they will be over you in a minute." He took one look at the advancing regiment, turned to his horse, and was up in the saddle and going at full gallop before I had time to realize what had happened ! I think he appreciated the fact that he had made it impossible to indulge in these romances again, for he left the regiment that year.

Although it is undoubtedly true that the changes in establishment and training, to which I have referred, effected a great improvement in the force, there yet remained a great deal to be done before it could be regarded as fit to take any useful part in the defence of the country. It was still composed, very largely, of splendid fellows who owned their own horses, who became very efficient with the sword and the carbine, and who had a very fair knowledge of their duties. But many of them were too old, some of them much too stout, to be able to do their work serviceably. There was no real distinction, save for the stripes, between the N.C.O.'s and the troopers, consequently the force could not be regarded in any sense as a military one.

What really brought about a complete revolution was the War in South Africa, which, for the first time, gave the yeomanry an opportunity to volunteer for foreign service, and also the fact that Mr. Brodrick (afterwards Earl Midleton) really recognized the yeomanry as a part of the armed forces of the Crown, treated them seriously and incidentally improved their position as regards pay, uniform and so on.

I have always felt that there has not been sufficient recognition of the services which Lord Midleton rendered to the yeomanry when he was Secretary of State.

When the call for volunteers for the South African War came, it was at once apparent that a large farmer occupying anything from 200 to 1,000 acres of land could not, without detriment to himself and to the country, volunteer for service. Also men who were past middle-age and who were not likely to be able to pass the medical examination would not be acceptable.

The opportunity for the yeomanry arose from the fact that some Kentish yeomen had been sent out—I believe on the initiative of Lord Harris—and they so much impressed

Sir Redvers Buller that he cabled to say he would welcome a further contingent of men of the same kind.

After the Battle of Colenso the War Office decided to raise a certain number of officers and men from each corps, and to aid the new movement a committee was formed in London composed of yeomanry officers. They drew up regulations and the C.O.'s were instructed to raise their contingents in accordance with the general scheme they had formulated. Every regiment was, however, left very largely to its own devices, and I can only tell of what happened in my own corps.

I was quite confident I could enlist sufficient recruits to take the places of the men who were unfit for service and to provide a regiment up to strength. We therefore volunteered to go as a regiment, but the offer was declined and I was instructed to raise a squadron on M.I. lines.

There is a Royal Artillery barracks at Trowbridge where a field battery had generally been quartered, but for some little time it had been unoccupied. I at once telegraphed to Lord Lansdowne, Secretary of State for War, for permission to occupy the barracks and to make them the headquarters of my regiment. Receiving immediate assent I forthwith summoned my senior officers and headquarters staff, and we were in possession of the barracks within two hours of receiving permission. This led to a somewhat amusing experience. The drains in the officers' quarters were all out of order and one of the main drains in the barrack-yard had been smashed in by the unfortunate use of the heavy town steam-roller.

Being quite ignorant of ordinary military methods, I gave instructions for the place to be put in order at once. Workmen appeared, but the work progressed remarkably slowly, and as I could do nothing till the repairs were completed I naturally became somewhat impatient. I asked the workmen how long it would be before the job

was finished. The reply was: "Not less than a week, probably more." I said: "Very well, I will send for men from my own estate yard and do the work myself." The consequence of this threat was that the job was finished, so far as I know satisfactorily, in less than two days.

We then summoned a sufficient number of N.C.O.'s and men to give us a recruiting staff. We very soon found that the proportion of men who would be available to serve would be very small, owing to the reasons which I have already described. Notices were issued throughout the whole county and placards posted in all the towns and villages, and in a very short time we had three times the number of recruits we required. So great was the desire to enlist, not only in our own county, but throughout the country, that scores of men were sent down to us from London by the Yeomanry Committee, who no doubt selected our depot as one of the places to send recruits because it was convenient to London and we had barrack accommodation.

It soon became apparent that we could not take any more men from outside as there were as many applicants as it was possible to accept. In a very few days, less than ten, we had 1,700 applicants for a squadron, the total strength of which was not more than 120. We therefore had to send a great number of men back and to request the committee not to send any more.

We had curious experiences at Trowbridge, during the period of enlistment, relating to the knowledge possessed by recruits when they were put through their first trial. Our plan was to make them fall in with carbines. The remarkable fact was that a great many of them had not the smallest idea of a gun of any kind. They held them in the most extraordinary fashion and did not really know one part of the weapon from another. I must confess that

previously I had believed that most Englishmen were, to some extent at all events, acquainted with a gun and knew *the front from the back*, and also had a rudimentary knowledge of how to use it. This turned out to be a complete fallacy and surprised many of us greatly.

On the other hand, almost without exception, they claimed to know how to ride, and all about a horse, and to my surprise most of them did possess enough knowledge to pass this test. I should have thought, coming as they did from all sorts of occupations, mainly, I suppose, industrial, and therefore being townsmen, they would have known something about a gun and nothing about a horse. I remember one case in the riding school—a very smart, likely-looking recruit who informed me that he had been a rough-rider in a cavalry regiment. When he was told to mount and ride round the school he tried to get up the wrong side! We had not a few instances of this kind, men who assured us they had lived with horses all their lives and yet proved themselves wholly ignorant of the horse and anything to do with him.

They were all gallant, determined fellows, desperately anxious to be enlisted, and ready, when challenged, to admit their failings, but always ending their confession with the confident statement: "I can learn it in plenty of time, and you may rely upon it, sir, I will do my best."

There was one remarkable fact connected with pay. The subject was later on discussed in the Cabinet. The Commander-in-Chief, who was, of course, frequently consulted, was of opinion that the yeoman should receive more pay than the regular cavalry soldier because he had been accustomed to it during his training. Personally I was opposed to the proposal. First, because I did not think it necessary. Secondly, because I felt sure that it would create an unfortunate feeling as between the regular

and the yeoman. This view was confirmed by all my experiences during recruiting time. Never once was I asked by any recruit, or were any of my officers asked, what the pay would be. I think this is a very strong tribute to the genuine desire of the young men of the country to offer their services quite regardless of the pecuniary return they would receive.

There were all kinds of curious incidents which gave one a great insight into the mentality of one's fellow countrymen. Of course, there was an age limit below which a recruit could not be taken, and applicants for enlistment who were under age resorted to every kind of device to get themselves accepted. I remember one lad, who really did not look more than fourteen, assured me that he was much older. He was a very smart young fellow, could ride and knew all about the use of a rifle, but he was obviously too young. On one occasion when I was inspecting the recruits I said to him : " You are much too young, my lad; I must have your birth certificate." He answered: " I am a few months under age, sir, but it does not look as if we will be going out for some time, and I shall be of age long before the time comes. I would give my soul to go; please do not turn me down." I had not the heart to send him away and kept him on. He was most efficient, most capable and enthusiastic in the performance of his duties, and although he had to be kept to the last I was eventually able to send him. He did very well, and after the war he settled in South Africa, where I hope he is prospering to-day, for he certainly deserved well of his country and of Fate.

We had all sorts and kinds of men, some of them gentlemen who had held commissions in the Army, but who had got into trouble of some kind and had had to resign. The chance offering, they came back, and in a few cases we were able to offer them commissions as, of

course, they proved themselves very much more efficient and experienced soldiers than the new recruit.

It was all very interesting and more than rewarded one for hard and continuous work. The one fear, the only fear that the men had, was that they would not get out in time. They were convinced the war would be over directly and that they would arrive at Cape Town to be turned back, if they ever succeeded in leaving England. There were innumerable delays, clothing and equipment were late in being delivered. Everybody was calling for the same thing at the same time, and the supply fell far short of the demand. Then there was difficulty about transports, and time after time the departure of the companies was put back, until the men became really dejected and thought they would never be sent across the sea. Eventually all came right and three well-trained, well-equipped companies were sent successively to take their part in the war.

Unfortunately my Adjutant went sick, but I found a reliable substitute in the regimental sergt.-major, Mr.—now Captain—Lawrence, a first-class soldier with a level head whom no obstacle could embarrass. For some time he did the whole of the work and was really acting Adjutant, which meant that not only was he my responsible adviser in connection with the novel duties falling upon me as a C.O. of what was really a regiment, but he had to deal with the whole of the correspondence, and in fact, "run the show." I gladly avail myself of this opportunity to give expression to the gratitude I feel I owe to him, not merely for the help he gave me, but also for the signal services he rendered to the country in time of great stress and difficulty.

Subsequently I was fortunate enough to obtain the services of an Indian cavalry officer, Capt. Stack, who became our Adjutant, and a most excellent and efficient officer he was.

I appointed Sergt.-Major Morel, my own old sergt.-major, as quartermaster-sergeant. We had a most difficult task in connection with the commissariat. But Sergt.-Major Morel, who had had no experience of the work before, succeeded in doing the work extremely well and at a very low cost. Most effectively these two excellent N.C.O.'s did their work. The strain and stress were tremendous, but they were never troubled; everything seemed to go smoothly, and by degrees the whole system was built up.

We bought our own equipment, saddles, bridles, etc., and as Trowbridge is a cloth-manufacturing town, I was able to get expert advice in the selection of cloth, while the saddlery equipment came from Walsall. We had a grant from the War Office, but this was supplemented by a fund raised in the county. Lord Lansdowne, the Lord Lieutenant, was Secretary of State for War, and was too much occupied with the duties of the latter office to be able to look after county matters, and he delegated to me the duty of raising the county fund. I was fortunate enough in being able to secure £7,000. It had to be apportioned between my own regiment and the infantry, but it enabled us to pay for all our requirements and to give the infantry all that was necessary to help them.

We were also presented with machine guns, and we had, therefore, to raise a machine-gun detachment.

In addition every man had a life policy of £100, which, though not a very big sum, was, at all events, something to serve as a proof of the fact that the county desired to recognize his self-sacrifice in volunteering to go to the war.

We had, of course, outgrown the ordinary barrack accommodation, so I secured an old mill standing just above the banks of the River Biss, which flows through Trowbridge. All the machinery having been removed I was able to provide stabling for the horses on the ground floor and to accommodate a certain number of men on the

floor above. In connection with this building an incident occurred which at the time was very exciting and which might have had very serious results. We had a very heavy fall of snow, followed by heavy rains. In consequence the river rose in flood and the lower floor of the temporary barrack was soon deep in water, through which it was necessary for the men to wade in order to loosen the horses, as there was a risk of them being drowned. I was greatly struck at the time by the coolness and the quiet, business-like way in which everybody faced the situation. Ultimately we escaped without a single casualty to either men or horses.

We had the usual small barrack hospital, but in addition we had to make use of the hospital in the town in order to provide for the more serious cases. This meant that the whole force occupied several parts of the town, involving a very considerable round for me in my daily inspection, and, of course, a great deal of additional labour for my staff. However, all worked out well, and as I have already stated, three complete companies were raised and dispatched to South Africa with their full establishment of horses, guns, etc.

In addition to the officers and men who went out we had those who, for various reasons, were unfit for service, or who were required to remain at home in order to raise the necessary contingents. It was my unfortunate duty to have to make selections, and a most disagreeable task it was. Needless to say the decisions I arrived at were accepted without complaint, and everybody worked with a will to do credit to the regiment. I was fortunate in having as my second-in-command Lord Bath, the actual second-in-command being unfit for duty, and a very great deal of the work devolved upon him as I, being a member of the Cabinet, had to be constantly up and down between London and the barracks.

An incident occurred during this time which serves to show how a telegram may lead to the most unexpected consequences, fortunately in this case amusing. One of my officers came to me and asked for two days' leave in order to go to a sale of horses at Swindon, as he wanted to buy a couple of Shetland ponies for a friend in the Household Cavalry in South Africa. I asked him what on earth his friend wanted Shetland ponies for, and he produced a cable which certainly said, "Please send two Shetland ponies at once." I felt there must be some mistake and advised him to tell the Post Office that he was doubtful about the accuracy of the message and to ask for a repetition. This he did, but the original text was confirmed. When he returned from the sale he was in great spirits, having been fortunate in obtaining two beautiful ponies, which he had bought from Lady Ida Hope. In addition he had had the good luck to meet the Government remount officer who was in charge of the horses being sent from Southampton. This officer had taken the ponies at once, and they were actually at that time aboard the ship and were probably already on their way. In due course he cabled his friend to say that he had executed the commission, and that the animals were *en route*. It eventually turned out that "Shetland *ponies*" should have read "Shetland *woollies!*" It is unnecessary to say that the officer in South Africa was not a little puzzled when, in place of the useful garments which he desired, he found he had got to provide for two ponies. However, I believe he was fortunate enough in finding a purchaser in Lady Forestier Walker, wife of the general officer at Cape Town, who took them for her own use. Fortunately the recipient of the ponies was in a position to bear with equanimity the difference in the cost of two woollen waistcoats and two ponies, otherwise it might have proved an unfortunate error.

It is unnecessary for me to dwell upon the work done

by the yeomanry in South Africa, or upon our recruiting work in Trowbridge. The former has been told well and often, and in regard to the latter I think I have said enough to show that we all did our best to meet the call of duty.

This new departure gave the force an entirely fresh start. We went into camp on Salisbury Plain in September instead of going into quarters in towns in May, and from that time onwards the camp has been the rule and not the exception. It was now easy to effect considerable changes, and the first I made was to intimate that no officer would be promoted unless he had a thorough knowledge of his duties. Also that no trooper would be raised to non-commissioned rank unless he could pass a reasonable examination. These changes, together with some tightening up of discipline and some other small reforms, made a wonderful improvement and produced in due course a really efficient military force. Mr. Brodrick had already succeeded Lord Lansdowne as Secretary of State for War, and the changes to which I have referred contributed greatly to our increased efficiency.

CHAPTER XIX

TRAVEL, HUNTING, CRICKET AND OTHER SPORTS

DIFFERENT circumstances have prevented me from visiting various parts of the Empire as I should have liked, for I believe that everybody who desires to do his duty as citizen ought to make himself acquainted with as great a part of the King's possessions as it is possible for him to reach.

I was happily able, on two occasions, to make prolonged tours in Canada. In 1888 I went through from east to west in company with the late Sir George Kirkpatrick—then Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, a distinguished Canadian whose premature death was a great loss to Canada and the Empire—and with his wife, a daughter of the great Canadian, Sir David Macpherson, whose nickname, "the British Lion," admirably describes alike his splendid personal appearance and his great characteristics as an Imperialist in times when Imperialism was not as popular as it is to-day. Two other members of the party were Sir Frederick Middleton and his wife, both, alas! now dead. Sir Frederick was General Officer Commanding the Militia in Canada. In the course of our tour we visited Winnipeg, then a small town of shacks with a population of about 4,000! After he had inspected the North Western Mounted Police, a magnificent force, he was invited to write his name in the visitors' book, and he signed himself "F. Middleton, General Officer Commanding the Militia in

Canada," and Lady Middleton, who of course followed him, entered her name as "L. Middleton, Commanding the General Officer Commanding the Militia in Canada"—a pleasantry which greatly amused all those who were present at the time.

We were fortunate in having placed at our disposal the travelling carriage belonging to the president of the line. The C.P.R. had only been opened the year before through the Rockies to Vancouver, and we had a most delightful and interesting journey through Winnipeg to Vancouver. All the towns were in their infancy. At Calgary, a little village where the centre of the town now stands, Sir Frederick and I acted as judges at a horse show. When the local committee arrived at our carriage the day before the show and asked us if we would judge, I accepted without hesitation. I had done a great deal of judging at horse shows, and thought this would be a very interesting opportunity to learn something of horse-breeding in Western Canada. Sir Frederick accepted also, but I thought he was a little slow in coming to a decision. When the deputation had left I asked him whether I was right in believing that he was not at first inclined to act as judge. He replied that I was quite right, that he did not like judging without riding the horses, and that he doubted whether this would be an agreeable experience. I, of course, did not in the least understand what he meant. The next day, when we arrived at the show ground, he told me that he expected me to do the riding for both of us. I was quite agreeable, but later on I discovered the reason for his caution. The first horse I proceeded to mount—a five-year-old chestnut—stood quite quietly and let me get in the saddle, but before I had time to do more than just get my feet into the stirrups he started bucking in a manner which was to me, at all events, quite different from anything I had ever experienced in my life. I had

nothing to do but to sit there holding firmly on by the cantle of the saddle—one of the old Spanish saddles—surrendering myself entirely to the horse, and, marvellous to relate, succeeded in remaining on his back until he had tired himself out. I need hardly say that everybody, including Sir Frederick, were hugely amused at the performance. This made me the more determined to try the horses myself, and as a result I had some very alarming expeditions over the ground, but, thanks to the saddle and to a pair of strong arms, I succeeded in averting a catastrophe. I have often thought it must have been a humorous sight to see one of the judges careering about the ground wherever the horse chose to go, holding on tight with both hands, and of course quite unable to form an opinion of the character of the animal as a riding-horse.

At Vancouver there was practically nothing in existence but the C.P.R. Hotel, half its present size. I remember really a rather remarkable little incident which occurred there. A very old friend of mine was going to be married in England, the day after we arrived, and I was anxious to send her a telegram of congratulation, to reach her, if possible, as she was leaving the church. The telegraph clerk told me that she thought she could arrange it. True enough, as I afterwards learnt, the telegraph boy handed my telegram to the bride just as she was emerging with the bridegroom from the church—a very successful piece of work in days when Vancouver was a very different place from what it is now.

I remember being so much struck with the possibilities of these various towns that I telegraphed to my old family lawyer, who was one of my trustees and a very old friend of my family, asking him to cable me out a sum of money with which to buy sites in Winnipeg, Calgary and Vancouver. He replied to the effect that nothing would induce him to let me have a farthing for such a wild-cat

enterprise, and I had to submit ; but his refusal was a short-sighted one, as, with the opportunities I had for securing good advice, if I had bought the sites then the investment would have proved a very fine one for me.

On the last occasion that I went through Canada, in 1912, my wife and I, and our dear daughter, Via Gibbs, and her husband, went from Toronto to Vancouver and Victoria as the guest of Sir Henry Pellatt. Again we had the most delightful time, but of course the whole country had gone through remarkable changes and the places which I had known in their infancy had now become great cities.

I also had a very delightful visit to South Africa in 1909, visiting nearly all the places of interest—amongst others, the Victoria Falls on the Zambesi, which is, I think, the most wonderful sight I have ever seen. I stayed in Johannesburg on two or three occasions with my friends, the Drummond Chaplins, who were then living in the neighbourhood. He is now Administrator of Southern Rhodesia, where he has rendered very fine service, and to both him and his wife I owe a great debt for remarkable kindness which enabled me to make my headquarters in their beautiful home, and of course added greatly to the enjoyment of my visit.

I had the good fortune to meet several of the great men that South Africa has produced : Mr. Merriman, that veteran and most distinguished statesman ; General Smuts, who has played so great a part in our Empire's history ; and last, but not least, my dear friend, General Botha. We commenced during these days a friendship which became a very close one and lasted until his untimely death deprived us of one of the greatest and truest statesmen and patriots that this Empire has ever possessed. On the occasion of his last visit to this country, when I was First Lord, he came to see me the afternoon of the day

before his departure, and his last words to me were, with his hand on my arm, " Remember, our friendship is a very real one, and from time to time I shall write you quite fully and frankly as to matters in South Africa or in the Empire, and shall rely upon you to write to me in the same spirit." He was a most lovable man, and a very great statesman. His loss was a very real one, and though he did not live long enough for his country and the Empire, he had lived long enough to create a name which will never be forgotten.

Dr. Jim, as he was called, was in South Africa whilst I was there, and I of course saw a good deal of him. I was at Oxford with Cecil Rhodes and knew him fairly well, and the Doctor and I had many a talk over that wonderful man's plans and life-work. Dr. Jim's devotion to him and the Empire was very delightful as an example of how a man can give his life with single-minded devotion to the service of one great man and a really great cause. Alas ! both of them have been taken from us, much to the Empire's loss.

I was devoted to hunting and got as many days as I could during the season, consistently with my work in Parliament. In my judgment it is the greatest of our national sports, though I suppose that in saying this I shall come into collision with lovers of racing. However, I hold to my view, and I know that, unlike coaching, hunting is as popular to-day as ever it was.

There are undoubtedly more packs in existence than when I was young. But since the War there probably has been a diminution in the numbers of those who follow hounds. There is, no doubt, greater difficulty in securing masters for the various packs. Yet if it be true that here and there a pack has had to be given up, it is also true that new packs have been started. There is therefore

abundant evidence that the sport retains its hold upon the affections of sportsmen and that new masters are to be found.

Fortunately, I never minded what kind of horse I rode, provided that he would only try to jump his fences and did not fall too often. This was a very great advantage, as it enabled me to get much sport that would otherwise have been denied to me. As with coach horses, so with hunters, I could not afford to give high prices. But to tell the truth I preferred buying cheap horses and riding them alongside others which I knew had cost four or five times the money. There is additional satisfaction to be found in the knowledge that, first of all, you have picked up a good horse at a small price, and secondly, that while he may be correctly described as a fine hunter, he probably has faults which would lead a more fastidious horseman, better provided with this world's goods, to decline to ride him. In these circumstances if you are able to hold your own, jump fences which other people jump, see a run from start to finish, and, at the end of the hunt, give a fairly accurate account of all that has happened, there is more real pleasure to be derived from this combination of circumstances than if you buy the most perfect horse regardless of expense.

It is, alas! some years since I hunted, owing to my long illness, and very many years since I sat on the box seat of a coach. Though perhaps it would have been more prudent not to have indulged so much in these particular pastimes, I cannot regret the glorious days that I have spent in association with that noble animal, the horse.

It was unlucky for me that I lived in a country where at that time hunting was difficult to get. We were at the extreme end of two hunting countries. Consequently hounds only met within reasonable distance very occasionally.

Thus it was that my early days were spent at Bicester, away from home. In subsequent years we have frequently let our place and taken hunting-boxes in different counties. Here again great advantages followed; we got to know countries we should never otherwise have visited, made hosts of friends and had splendid sport.

In those happy times wire was unknown. In many cases the fences were big, and in some instances they were never laid or trimmed, but allowed to grow to a great height and thickness so that one had to get over or through them as best one could. Anyhow, there was no reason to fear that a good horse, making a supreme effort, would find himself trapped by a horrible strand of wire, and both he and his rider probably badly injured, through no fault of their own.

I hunted in a great many counties in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, and I have had the privilege to know most of the great masters of foxhounds. It would be easy to fill a book with records of all the various hunts I have seen. I ask myself what I could consider is the best run in which I had ever taken part, and I find it very difficult to answer the question. I often think of one run we had in 1888 in the Vale of Aylesbury, when we found a fox in Chearsley and ran right along the Aylesbury Vale. The first fence was the Chearsley Brook, not very big, but an awkward obstacle which often brought riders to grief. The majority of the field, thinking that the fox would run parallel to the brook, turned left-handed. They discovered their mistake too late, and never saw a yard of the run. The pace was very severe, the going good, the fences strong but fair and jumpable, with a certain amount of timber in the shape of stiles. There were eight of us that got away, a very short distance separating one from the other. I was riding a wonderful hunter, a mare called "Gitana," whose picture now hangs on my wall. She was

bred by old Baron de Robeck by "Outcast" out of "Miss Tynte"—a wonderful mare which carried the Baron for many seasons and from which, I believe, he bred no less than eleven foals. I bought her as a four-year-old at his sale at Rugby when he was stopped hunting by the Land League, and she carried me to the end of her life to perfection.

On this occasion I knew she and I were doing our best, and afterwards the first whip and a friend who was a very good man to hounds and well mounted told me they were doing their best, and none of us could alter our position by a yard. We ran for thirty-eight minutes killing our fox in the open. Harry Bonner, the first whip, set him on his legs in the middle of the pack, and he was as stiff as a biscuit and stood just as if he were alive, with the hounds baying all round him. I am not sure that this was not one of the best gallops I have ever seen. Of course many other memories crowd upon one, and the question forces itself: "Was not such and such a gallop even better?" I have recorded this one because it was certainly as good as a hunt possibly could be, and after all, when certain conditions are fulfilled, it is very difficult to tell what is to make one run better than another. There are so many factors which must all be present if the enjoyment is to be complete: the fox must be a bold one and set his head straight, you must be in good form yourself and be mounted on a brave horse, all must go well, you must get a good start and no element of bad luck must obtrude to spoil it, if you are to succeed in holding your own. In short, everything must go right if you are to be there at the finish and be able to feel that you have had a really first-class gallop.

Another occasion occurs to me when exactly the reverse happened. I was riding the same mare. We got away well. I had a splendid start and hounds were running

hard after a straight-necked fox. I jumped a fence, landed in a bog and turned over. Alas! when I got up my gallant mare was standing holding up her near fore leg, so lame that it was obvious that my day's hunting was over. The pace was very hot and I had only time to tell my wife to go on and try to keep somebody else in view, as being very short-sighted she could not always make sure what the fence in front of her was. Very soon the whole hunt had disappeared from view. I had to lead my poor mare to a neighbouring farm and get the farmer to be good enough to let me put her in the stable whilst I made my way to the nearest telegraph office to seek assistance. I think it was not less than two hours before I met some of my fellow-sportsmen on their way home, who told me they had had a wonderful run of forty minutes from find to kill. One added that the last fence was a biggish brook into which my wife's mare had fallen on landing, my wife being underneath. Judging by all I heard afterwards, I have every reason to believe that had it not been for the presence of mind and prompt action of our old friend Ben Bathurst, it would have gone hard with her. He got somebody to help him, jumped into the water and happily succeeded in pulling her from under the mare. Otherwise she must surely have been drowned. However, she got off with nothing worse than a bad shaking and a real ducking.

This is the other side of the picture—no fault of ours or of our horses. Just bad luck! And, therefore, I say that to score a success everything must combine to go well.

As it is difficult to make up one's mind what is the best run one has ever seen, I think it is also difficult to decide which is the best country over which one has ever ridden. In England, I personally believe that Northamptonshire and Warwickshire are the two most charming hunting territories, glorious turf, fine fences, though some of those in the Pytchley and Grafton are undoubtedly very big.

Then come crowding upon one the glories of Leicestershire, to which hunting historians have always given premier place; and then North Warwick, Meynell, Cheshire, the Duke of Beaufort's Blackmore Vale and our own little country, the Avon Vale; and in Ireland the Meath and the Kildare. All have their special charms and peculiar attractions, and of course, the shires can never be compared with what we call "provincial packs," because in the former there is an abundance of grass and the fields are much bigger than are to be found in the less fashionable countries. However, there comes the manifest advantage that horses need not be so fast. In many of the provincial countries one horse is sufficient, whereas in the shires two horses are almost compulsory if you are to see and enjoy a day's sport to the end. Meath, again, is a most glorious grass country, but it is quite different from the shires owing to the peculiar nature of its fences. I hunted there for the last time under the mastership of Mr. John Watson, one of the most wonderful men to hounds I have ever seen. He was very tall and a considerable weight, yet he rode over a very difficult country as easily and successfully as a much smaller and lighter man could have done. Here again I come in contact with the old question—what is the best weight to enable one to ride comfortably over some countries? Theory holds in some quarters that the light-weight has the advantage. This I am not prepared to accept. I have seen many light-weights held up by a fence through which a man with a stone or two more weight would have been able to force his way, or actually put down by a rail holding, which under the pressure of a heavier man and horse would have broken and let him through. My own belief is, taking it all round, the best weight is 13 stone 7lbs., provided, of course, that the horse is well able to carry it.

Here again, conditions vary so in different countries

that it is impossible to lay down hard and fast rules. It is obvious when a horse is taking off on top of the ground and is landing on the same level on firm springy turf, he can carry more weight than if he has to jump out of heavy ground and gallop over fields of the same character.

There is another theory which my experience entirely refutes, and that is that you want a different stamp of horse for, for instance, Northants than for the Blackmore Vale. My experience points in a contrary direction. If a horse is well bred and up to the rider's weight and both know their business and have stout hearts, I believe they will find themselves equally at home in all countries however dissimilar they may be. I remember a brother-in-law, now alas! dead, who was tall and thin and rode, all told, somewhere about 13 stone. He used to ride the same horse for half the season with the Blackmore Vale and the other half in the Northants. One year at least, if not two, he won a point-to-point run in the Blackmore Vale and the United Hunts race in Northants on the same horse.

I am, of course, only referring to countries over which I have ridden myself. I have always held to the opinion I have expressed that it is not a question of price or of selecting a horse for a special country, but if you had a good eye for a horse and had time to look for him, you could invariably mount yourself for a very moderate sum, and see the best of sport in any country to which you chose to go. I think, however, an exception should be made in respect of Ireland, where the fences are of such a peculiar character that an English horse would have great difficulty in negotiating them successfully if he was brought straight from, say, Northants to that country.

I remember an amusing incident which occurred to me whilst hunting with the Kildare. I was riding a hireling, which I obtained from an old ex-huntsman who lived

at Naas, a very useful old animal, but not in its first youth, and not to be described as a flyer. When the day was at an end the late Percy La Touche, one of the best of sportsmen and good fellows, offered to show me a short cut home. After crossing some small obstacles we came quite unexpectedly upon a big, stone-faced bank. La Touche was riding a thorough-bred which had been discarded from a racing stable and knew mighty little of its business. He turned to me and said, "Well, as I have led you astray, I must go first." Accordingly he presented his horse at the wall and I have never seen an animal make such an appalling series of blunders. The horse eventually turned turtle on the other side and then got up, leaving La Touche on the ground on his back, with his foot firmly jammed in the stirrup. Fortunately he had a firm hold of the reins. I, therefore, had to dismount, clamber over the wall—no easy business in hunting kit—liberate my friend and struggle back to my own horse, remount and jump the obstacle, a not very pleasant job. However, I placed my faith in the old horse, and he negotiated the wall in the cleverest way and landed me safely on the other side, much to my relief, and all was well.

There has been, in my opinion, a decided change for the worse in connection with what is called point-to-point riding. In my early days the point-to-point was a reality; you started from some given spot, rode out to a flag or conspicuous mark of some kind, rounded it and rode back, there being very few flags to mark the course, no fences trimmed, and therefore it was really a case of riding the race much as one rode to hounds. Now it is almost a general custom to lay out a course more like a steeplechase course, flag it and, even though there are few flags, to cut and trim the fences in such a way that when you jump into a field there is no difficulty in seeing where you are to jump out. I think this a pity. It all tells in

favour of the horse that is taught to gallop at his fences, and against the hunter, in the interests of which this form of racing was originally started. However, I suppose I am old-fashioned and must be content to accept the conclusions of the rising generation. At all events the meetings are very pleasant gatherings, encourage hunting and the keeping of good horses, and I hope they will be maintained notwithstanding the difficulties, which are undoubtedly very serious.

The advent of the motor-car has entirely changed the character of an ordinary hunt meeting; thousands of people attend in place of hundreds, many spectators coming from a very long distance. The result is that a great deal of unnecessary damage is done to land on which the meeting is held, as I am sorry to have to say that strangers do not pay quite the same attention to local rules and regulations as do those who belong to the country and realize the importance of doing as little damage as possible.

In 1888-89 was held our first Parliamentary point-to-point. The country selected was in the Bicester Hunt, not far from Buckingham. The late Lord Chesham, then Master of the Bicester, very kindly selected the course for us. The only horse I could ride unfortunately went wrong about six weeks before the race and consequently was not really fit. I was cannoned against and knocked over, and this took the last bit of stuffing out of him, so that when I remounted I decided I had no prospect of winning, and made up my mind to go leisurely home. I found myself alongside John Fitzwilliam, now alas! no longer with us, who was none too well himself, so we joined forces and had a pleasant ride together. About a mile from home we saw that one of the competitors had lost control of his horse, which proceeded to charge a gate, taking it half-way up, and horse and rider turned head over heels into the next

field. I am afraid John and I were too much imbued with the fact that it was a Parliamentary race, and we remarked to one another, "There is a vacant seat, in more ways than one, and it is doubtful if Blank is knocked out whether we shall be able to hold it." However, the sportsman in question turned out to be not very badly hurt, and was able to pursue his own horse. As we got near the finish we observed the second and third, who were jumping into the straight, had come to grief, and I believe that if we had come along a little faster, as we no doubt could have done, we might have had a chance, as there was an objection to the first, who had misinterpreted the rules and was disqualified, and the race was won by Elliot Lees, with Frank Mildmay second.

After that the meetings were held at Hillmorton, Kineton, and in the Pytchley country. I had picked up an extraordinary good horse, somewhat difficult to ride, having rather a peculiar mouth, but he could jump anything in the world and could keep on going at the same pace as long as you liked.

At Hillmorton the ground was somewhat hard, and Lord Feilding (now Lord Denbigh), who started us, was very particular we should keep a good line, and we were turned back two or three times in consequence. I felt that if we were not allowed to go soon my horse would get very much annoyed, and this was the case, for when eventually the flag fell he gave two mighty bounds and galloped straight into the first fence, turning a somersault into the next field. I think that there is no doubt he stunned himself, as for a mile or more he galloped and jumped like a mechanical horse and rolled about very badly. But he made no mistakes and gradually recovered himself, and in the end he went right through all the others and ended by winning the heavy-weight race. This was the first time the race was run in two classes together, the heavy and the

light weights. He won it again at Kineton, when the ground was also hard. On this occasion there were some hunt races as well as our own, and it will always be remembered for the sad accident which befell Captain Middleton, known to everybody as "Bay" Middleton, a fine rider both to hounds and between the flags, and a capital sportsman. His horse overjumped himself in the race immediately following the one in which I had ridden, turned over and broke poor Bay's neck. It was a very sad finish to our day, and, of course, threw a gloom, not only over the meeting, but over the whole hunting and sporting world. I don't think I have ever seen more signs of genuine grief than I witnessed when the news spread that Bay had been killed. The accident occurred close to Kineton Holt, and I believe there is a little memorial placed there to his memory.

On the third occasion on which I rode "Crusader," the late Lord Spencer, the famous "Red Earl," one of the greatest sportsmen that ever lived, took us down to the start, and on the way pointed out the winning-post, at the same time remarking it was a little too near the last fence, but he considered it a good plan as it was in favour of the hunter and did not offer an opportunity to the galloping horse to take advantage of the long run-in. He also told us that his huntsman, Will Goodall (one of that famous family), would be stationed on the landing side of the last fence and would blow his horn as the winner passed the post.

When I landed over the last fence I saw what I believed to be the winning-post, and as I approached it I heard the horn, so pulled my horse up to a slow canter, believing I had won. I heard a roar from the crowd and, glancing over my shoulder, I saw another rider approaching at a great rush. I tried to set my horse going again, but too late, and I was beaten on the post. It was rather vexatious,

but otherwise it was a satisfactory finish. The winner was Lord Henry Bentinck, riding a much better horse than mine. Lord Henry was rather short-sighted and had gone a little out of the way. Had he not done so he would most certainly have beaten me easily, so that I rejoiced in the victory of a real good fellow who deserved to win.

Both Lord Spencer and Will Goodall were greatly distressed, the former saying that the winning-post had been moved without his knowledge, and poor old Will declaring he had forgotten his instructions in the excitement, and when he saw a horse going too far out into the country he blew his horn to attract attention. It was a curious incident and I don't suppose anything like it had ever occurred before or since. However, the only practical result as regards myself was to prevent my winning three times in succession.

These Parliamentary meetings were very sporting occasions, almost everybody who had a horse and hunted used to enter for the fun of the thing, and I hope they will be continued because I think they are an advantage in every way.

On another occasion I entered the same horse in a race at Aylesbury, and a cousin of my wife's, afterwards killed in the South African War, entered a very similar horse in the same race. We were altogether outclassed, and to the amusement of the crowd rode quite a good race for the last place, not reaching the straight until the other horses had passed the post! We got to the last fence both very blown and both our horses done to a turn. Poor Boyle was just a little in front of me, and he cleared the fence, but fell on landing, and a friend, not seeing me coming, ran to assist Boyle. I saw him just as my horse was taking off, too late to do anything, and my horse took him full in the chest and came down, so there were both riders and horses and spectator all on the ground and,

remarkable to relate, nobody any the worse. A curious thing happened to Charlie Coates, the friend in question. Every button of his coat and waistcoat was split absolutely in half! Considering the violence of the impact from the weight of my horse and myself I think it is wonderful he was not killed.

For a short time I kept a scratch pack of harriers, and Tom Calley used to do whipper-in. When we could not get foxhounds we had very good fun with the harriers, though it cannot, of course, be compared with the fox-hunting. Those who say the latter is a cruel sport and ought not to be allowed can never have seen a fox in the course of a hunt or they would realize he enjoys himself thoroughly, except at the last when he has to face the inevitable. But it must be remembered that if it were not for hunting he would not be preserved at all. He would be destroyed as vermin. Where he is preserved he has a royal time of it, and as often as not takes part in many a hunt and comes off victorious; while hunting is itself a great science and riding to hounds an art. It all means a fine training for men and women, and incidentally the expenditure of large sums of money in each locality, which if it were not for foxhunting would certainly be spent abroad or not at all.

In the season beginning 1920 we had to find a new master for our own pack, the Avon Vale. I was fortunate enough to persuade a friend of mine who had come to live in our part of the country to fill the gap, but only on one condition, that I would join him, as he was new to the country and wanted the assistance of somebody who had all the necessary local knowledge. Consequently I became, somewhat late in life, an M.F.H. under the most pleasant circumstances. I lived close to the kennels, whereas he lived some considerable distance off, therefore I should have most of the work to do, both in the kennels and in

the field, and at no cost to myself! Alas! fate was against me. I was only able to appear once in the hunting field in my new capacity, and had then to be brought home early in the day, as I was suffering very great pain from what proved to be the illness which laid me low and from which I am only just recovering. So my share of the work had to be done by deputy, my son or my daughter or others, which was a very great disappointment. However, there is some consolation in the fact that this year some of the hounds we bred have turned out very well, one of them being the second best young dog hound at Peterborough. So I hope that, notwithstanding our difficulties Sir Alfred Read and I did our duty by the pack.

Hunting is a most engrossing theme, upon which one would like to write for ever, and I wish I had the pen of dear old "Brooksby" (Pennell Elmhurst), whose accounts of doings in "grass countries" used to form such delightful reading in each week's *Field*, and who could describe a day's hunting and everything to do with hounds and horses at least as well as, if not better than, anybody who has ever written on the subject. But in my Memories I have only a very limited space for each subject.

It is difficult to say when we found ourselves most thoroughly in enjoyment of our hunting opportunities. We had a splendid time at Rood Ashton when the late Duke of Beaufort resumed our country. As it was a long way from Badminton, the present Duke, then Lord Worcester, used to bring hounds over for a week, put them in our kennels, and would do six days' cubbing. Most thoroughly did we all enjoy it. To my mind there never was a finer huntsman. What he did not know about the fox and his ways and about hunting generally was not worth knowing, and it was a real delight to watch him quietly and patiently hunting a tired fox to death, with little or no scent. His knowledge of the art of hunting was so great that it seemed

MEETING OF THE HOUNDS—CASTLE LODGE, ROOD ASHTON.
Lord Long in pony-cart. David, with groom, in centre of picture.

[*To face p.* 346.

almost uncanny. One case will suffice to illustrate, though, of course, thousands could be mentioned. We had found a fox at Rood Ashton during the regular hunting season and had run him out on the west side of the country, crossing a fair-sized brook. Lord Worcester's great height and weight made it impossible for him to ride a country as could lighter men. When we had crossed the brook I found myself for a few minutes alone with hounds. They threw up, having lost the line. I thought the fox had gone in a particular direction and proceeded to cast them accordingly without any practical result. Suddenly I heard a voice behind me say: "Which way has the fox gone?" I looked round and to my astonishment found it was the huntsman. I was so surprised that I ejaculated: "How on earth did you get here?" to which he replied: "Never mind; which way did he go?" I was compelled to admit I did not know. He then took hold of the hounds, made a couple of casts and hit off the line, and they were soon on good terms with their quarry. It was a sort of instinct, I think, which enabled him to cast in the right direction almost without any consideration or hesitation.

Later I heard how he had managed to cross the brook. We lost the fox and were riding back and I asked him. He replied that he had "crossed the bridge." I knew the country well and I could not think of any bridge, but it turned out that he had dismounted and walked over a narrow footbridge, his horse following him without making the ghost of a mistake! Later on I was told of an amusing incident that occurred there. A friend of mine who was not very partial to jumping water thought he would do the same. There was a low bar at each end of the bridge, over which Lord Worcester's horse had stepped. My friend thought he would follow suit, got off and invited his horse to follow him in the same way, but the animal, in its excitement, jumped the rail and landed full on my

friend, knocked him into the brook and then proceeded to fall in on top of him! When I saw him he bore unmistakable signs of his immersion!

Those were very jolly days, and I learnt a great deal about hunting, as, of course, there were very small fields and I had every opportunity to watch this great master of the art and his hounds at work. Those were the good old times, when the late Duke of Beaufort, the greatest gentleman and finest sportsman it has ever been my good fortune to meet, hunted the whole of the country, as had his predecessors before him, entirely at his own expense. A wonderful sight it was to see the famous pack, splendidly appointed in every detail, and very excellent was the sport we enjoyed. All this we owed to the great House of Beaufort, whose members for many generations had been leaders in the world of foxhunting. We who live in their territory are thankful to know that young Lord Worcester is following in the footsteps of his ancestors, and promises to be nearly, if not quite, as fine a huntsman as was his father.

Shortly after my marriage we took a little hunting box in the Duke of Beaufort's country, called Norton, belonging to Lady Holland. Being in the centre of the hunt it was quite easy with a few horses to get a great deal of sport. Our first season was 1878–79. I hunted four days a week and averaged just over six miles to covert and four miles home! This was, of course, somewhat exceptional, owing to the fact that on several occasions we killed our fox within a mile of our front door.

When, some years after, the late Duke found himself unable to hunt so vast a country, a new pack was established. We had let Rood Ashton and gone to hunt in the Bicester country, living first at the Red House and then at Bicester House, a hunting box in the middle of the town. Lord Chesham was master and a royal time we had. He was an ideal master and Lady Chesham was an ideal master's wife.

They showed us the greatest possible kindness and many a good day's sport did we have, and many a cheery non-hunting day did we spend at Stratton Audley, where they lived.

During the season 1888–89 one of my sisters, who was living with us, became engaged to be married to the late Jack Martin, a very fine sportsman, with a wonderful knowledge of every kind of sport, who was afterwards master of the South and West Wilts. It was decided to have what is called "a pink wedding." Lord Chesham was good enough to fix the meet in the market-place an hour after the ceremony—everybody appeared in hunting clothes, including, at least, one member of the choir. After the breakfast we all went hunting, had a most excellent run, in which the bride and bridegroom well held their own, and in the afternoon they left in the orthodox way for their honeymoon. It was an event not to be forgotten, and evoked at the time a very great deal of interest. Alas! a great many of those who took part in it are no longer with us, including Lord and Lady Chesham and my brother-in-law himself.

In my second season there I had a curious experience in connection with that fell complaint, influenza. Whilst at Bicester I got an attack. When it came on I had gone up to London to attend a funeral, but was unable to do so and decided to get home. I arrived there on a Saturday. On the following Monday hounds met within a mile of the town. Despite the doctor's warnings I determined to go. We found a fox which took us across the River Ray. I thought I knew a place where I could jump the whole thing, or at all events in and out. I found I had made a mistake, my horse jumped short and I went head under. My doctor's warnings came back to me. I decided to make for home as quickly as I could and set off at a gallop. A thick fog had come on, into which the pack had vanished,

and on my way I met some of the field who had gone round by the bridge and were looking for hounds. I didn't stop to answer their inquiries! As soon as I got home I plunged into a very hot bath and had a very hot drink, rolled myself up in blankets, and by the evening every symptom of the malady had disappeared. The doctor, of course, declared it had been a case of kill or cure, but I have my own views, and I cannot help thinking that, without perhaps the immersion in the river, remedies such as I applied are not without their use.

There was a famous local squire, by name Sclater Harrison, who was a wonderful good man to hounds. There was not a fence he could not negotiate, and he was particularly good at timber. A story was told of him that on one occasion, having got into a brook, he managed to scramble out, but his horse was left in the water. Two or three Oxford undergraduates, who thought it to be only common courtesy to try to render assistance, came to his aid and tried to encourage the horse to come out. The squire, who was standing behind a big willow, said: "I'm very much obliged to you young fellows, but if you'll follow my example and keep out of sight, my horse will come out himself. He doesn't like the cold water any more than you or I."

One of the Bicester magnates has always been Lord Jersey, whose place, Middleton Park, is not far from the town. At the time of which I am writing, the late Lord Jersey was in possession. When people urged the opinion that foxes and pheasants could not be expected to be found together, we used to quote Middleton Park as an unanswerable refutation of their theory, as in those days hundreds of pheasants were shot in the Middleton coverts, while it was always the case that several foxes could be seen during the course of the day, and when hounds drew them there would always be plenty of foxes afoot.

I suppose it is natural, indeed inevitable, as I have devoted the greater part of my life and energies to political work, that my reminiscences should, at all events in the first part, deal mainly with political questions to the exclusion of very many others. As I have already said, though I am afraid the information will be superfluous to anybody who may read these Memories, I do not pretend to be writing a book---all I am doing is to jot down my recollections, not in chronological order, but as they appear to me to come best in recalling some of the experiences which I have gained.

I have said nothing about other sports, in all of which I have taken a humble but a very keen part. I think, perhaps, salmon fishing ranks very near foxhunting. Owing to the demands upon my time I have not been able to do much of this great sport ; but, apart from the fact that the salmon is a splendid quarry, and takes a great deal of skill and knowledge to land, there is a charm in fishing, whether it be for salmon or lesser fish, which is very alluring. River life, especially bird life, is very beautiful and full of profound interest. I had the good fortune to be given a considerable stretch of fishing on the River Usk in Breconshire. The head keeper and fisherman, by name Cross, was one of the most remarkable men I have ever come in contact with—a very fine fisherman, with a wonderful knowledge of fishing of rivers and of animal and bird life. I think he knew probably as much about salmon as any man I have met. He had a theory that you should always keep your eyes open and take care that you miss nothing. On one occasion, he and his son, a boy about sixteen, and I, were walking together, when he called his son's attention to the fact that he was not observing what was around him. The boy looked with astonishment, but saw nothing, and Cross stooped down and picked up half a sovereign which was lying in the grass

at our feet. It was a good instance of his belief in constant vigilance. He threw a most beautiful line, and could tempt a fish when most other men would have ignominiously failed.

But of all sports and games, so far as comparisons can be made with others which are to be enjoyed in different seasons of the year, cricket must come first. To this great national pastime I have always been devoted, and I suppose that nothing has changed so much in the years to which I am referring as cricket. When I was young the counties that competed for the championship were very limited in number, there were no second-class counties, and, with the exception of the great matches, Gentlemen and Players, North and South, etc., and the few leading counties, most of the cricket was provided by the great cricket clubs, such as I Zingari, Free Foresters, Harlequins, Quidnuncs, and many others. In those days most of the great houses had their own cricket grounds. Country house cricket was a great feature, and very cheery occasions these cricket weeks were—playing cricket all day, dancing at night, troops of good fellows and very good cricket, keen, determined and, of course, always free from any acrimony or controversy. We played to win and did our best, and to my mind it is little short of a catastrophe that that form of cricket has practically disappeared.

There were many excellent country clubs, which played, in August and September especially, a series of very high-class matches. I would mention one in particular which flourished in my part of the country, and for which I was often privileged to play. It was called the Lansdown Cricket Club. The ground was at Weston, near Bath. It was a most flourishing institution, thanks in no small measure to the wonderful energy and enthusiasm of the honorary secretary, W. S. M. Goodenough. So great were the services which

he rendered to cricket and to the club that during his lifetime he was elected *honoris causa* to M.C.C. When he died, as a tribute to his memory, his widow was made a member of the Lansdown C.C. Committee, on which I am glad to say her name still appears. Goodenough was not himself a cricketer of any merit, but he loved the game, was very particular that it was played strictly in accordance with the rules and on the very best principles. He was also a martinet as to punctuality, time given for luncheons, etc., and under his rule the club was most successful. They were able sometimes to secure the services of the brothers Grace, W. G., E. M. and Fred, and their cousin Gilbert, all of whom, of course, played for Gloucester, and Frank Townsend, who kept a private school adjoining the ground at Weston. Naturally, when these five could be secured, the club could put a very strong eleven in the field. In addition they had cricketers of exceptional merit in D. D. Pontifex, Cassan, a left-handed bowler who in his day was very deadly, the two Sainsburys and many others. I should think that there was no provincial club which over a considerable period of years enjoyed so much success in the field as did the old Lansdown Club. The old ground has long been given up and the club reconstituted, but I am glad to think that it still flourishes, and to know that the memory of the old presiding genius, Goodenough, is cherished by all the old members and that the presence of Mrs. Goodenough as a member of the committee serves to remind new members of the services rendered by her husband.

I remember one match when I took an eleven against Lansdown. It was a very hot summer and the ground was very hard and bumpy. I had quite a good eleven, containing two or three Old Harrovians of exceptional merit, but Fred Grace was really unplayable. He got our men out, one after the other, for very small scores. However,

P. F. Haddow, who was in the Harrow eleven in 1872–73, and played a very fine "not-out" innings in the last year, stood in on this occasion until the last wicket, when a cousin of mine, who was very short-sighted and very rarely played cricket, came in. His name was Medlicott, and he had been a rowing man at Oxford and was in the eight, but owing to his short sight he had never been a successful cricketer. However, on this occasion he joined Haddow and proceeded to hit every ball, and I never shall forget Fred Grace's amazement when good ball after good ball was hit all over the ground—one, I remember, going out of the gate into the road, for which they ran six. Eventually he saved our reputation by making thirty-six before they got him out, but he told me afterwards that there was hardly an inch of his body which was not black or blue as the result of his innings.

One of the greatest privileges ever conferred upon me was when I was made a member of the M.C.C. Committee at Lord's, and, subsequently, president of the club, the greatest honour, in my judgment, which can fall to any lover of the game. This carries with it the great advantage of being allowed to use the committee room in the pavilion at Lord's as long as one lives, and I only wish I could adequately describe the delights of sitting in that very comfortable room, with all the great windows open, whence a perfect view can be obtained of the match that is being played. In addition there is the great advantage of sitting among many of the greatest cricketers, past and present, and listening to their reminiscences, their comments on the match being played, and their discussions on cricket generally. The famous family of Walker used to be regular attendants. Among others were many members of that famous cricketing family, the Lytteltons, A. J. Webbe, the great son of Harrow, A. G. Steel, Leveson Gower, Plum Warner and many others, and Lord Hawke, whose

name will always be associated with cricket in its best form and with the glories of Yorkshire.

For many years our governor, absolute in his rule, loved and honoured by the members, was the late Sir Spencer Ponsonby-Fane ; he was followed by our present chief (Lord Harris), probably—certainly in my opinion—the one man who was really a suitable successor to dear old "Spencer" ; a true lover of the game, a man of affairs, a splendid comrade and real "white man." Of course, W. G., whom I had the good fortune to know very well—I played many a match either with or against him—stands unrivalled as our greatest playing cricketer, but in the general services of cricket, in the knowledge of the game and in judgment I put Lord Harris top of the list.

Whenever I could get away for an hour or two from my Parliamentary duties I always managed to get to Lord's, and I hope for many a day to enjoy this great privilege.

Under the devoted, extraordinarily skilful administration of F. E. Lacey, secretary to the M.C.C., not only has the ground been vastly extended and improved, but much better provision has been made for the comfort of all those who go to Lord's to watch cricket, and Lacey's name must always stand high among those who in their generation have done their best to serve cricket, and especially the M.C.C., which is acknowledged the world over as the great centre and governing authority of our greatest game.

Though in my early days the lesser country clubs were very flourishing institutions, they were not as numerous as they are now. Consequently each club had a much larger number of cricketers available for their matches, and in order that those who were not considered good enough for places in the eleven could play there used to be a rule in many clubs that club games were played. This enabled at least two elevens to compete, and so gave a large number of the members an opportunity of playing

regularly as members of the club, if not for the club. A great deal of this, if not all of it, has disappeared. Cricket leagues have rendered it compulsory to get the best possible eleven together, and all available time is taken up in playing in these matches or preparing for them. Consequently, clubs are much more numerous. This, I hope, means that the popularity of the game amongst players has not decreased, but I am afraid the immense increase in clubs has tended to somewhat lessen the personal interest of individuals. At all events, this is my experience in the part of England in which I live.

In the neighbourhood of our great towns it is a wonderful thing on Wednesday or Saturday afternoons to see the number of matches which are being played on the grounds reserved for their use. I am a cordial supporter of the movement, which I am afraid is not progressing as strongly as, in my judgment, it ought, to enable local authorities, with even the help of Government grants, to secure adequate space for the various clubs. As building increases and the price of land goes up, individual owners are naturally unable to bear the loss of leaving the ground for cricket; clubs are pushed further and further afield, and for the young clerk or employee in any form of business or industry it becomes a very serious question whether he can afford the time required to get from wherever he is working in the morning to the place where the match is to be played in the afternoon. When one realizes how important cricket is, not only to the health of the young fellows, but to their morals, surely it is desirable that some serious steps should be taken to preserve open spaces as playing fields for our young fellows, within sufficiently easy reach of their places of employment.

I am quite aware that this is a very difficult question, that it means the expenditure of a certain amount of money, but I believe that the nation would gain an ade-

quate return for any expenditure, in the improved moral and physical condition of the men of the country. There is no doubt that cricket is a healthy game for both body and mind. It is a great national game. It teaches all the best lessons. The fact that we use such phrases as "playing the game," "it is not cricket," etc., goes to prove that the laws and customs of cricket are founded on the very best principles, and that the game is one which ought to be encouraged as a great national institution.

Yachting stands high as a great pastime, but of course it is very different from other sports in almost every detail. I suppose that it is probably one of the most expensive amusements or occupations in which any man can indulge.

I am fortunately a good sailor and don't know the meaning of the word "sea-sickness," and I have been all my life devoted to yachting. I have had a good deal of it, thanks to the kindness and hospitality of my friends. I have spent many a cheery week at Cowes, and had many a delightful cruise with Lord and Lady Iveagh, on whose *Cito* and *Citonia* I have passed many enjoyable days. I cannot forget that it was not only on their yachts that I enjoyed the hospitality of this great Irishman and his wife, for when I was in Ireland they were kindness itself, and their beautiful home "Farmleigh," adjoining Phœnix Park, was made a second home to me.

But I am dealing now with yachting, and in my belief there is no week more delightful in all its special allurements than Cowes Week. That this is so is, I think, proved by the fact that visitors come there from all parts of the world, it is invariably honoured by the presence of our Sovereign and his Queen, and given fine weather with sufficiently strong breezes I can imagine nothing more enjoyable.

Then there are the equally delightful cruises in different

waters. I go back to my early days in Parliament, when the late Sir William Pearce was good enough to take parties, composed mainly of Members of Parliament, cruising at Easter, Whitsuntide and in the summer on his beautiful yacht *Lady Torfrida*, an auxiliary steamer of some seven hundred tons. Many were the good times we had with him, and many an amusing incident occurred during our cruises. On one occasion a very distinguished Member of Parliament, holding high office, was one of the party. We ran into some very foul weather and he had to retire to his berth, and we saw nothing of him for the first three days. On the morning of the third day he popped his head in at the breakfast room door and I adjured him to come and join us, but the sight of fried bacon was too much for him and he bolted with a groan. However, he reappeared at dinner and sat next to me. When he had read the menu and appreciated the quality of the wines, he said to me, with a sigh which came from his heart: "Heavens above us! To think that I have lost all this for nearly three days!" However, the weather improved, and he was able to enjoy the rest of the cruise without interruption.

On another occasion among the guests were a well-known Scottish laird and an equally well-known Irish landowner and politician. When we were sitting in the deckhouse in the morning the conversation turned, as it so often has done, upon the condition of Ireland. My Irish friend indulged in some rather bitter remarks about the treatment meted out to his country by England and the need for a more generous expenditure of public money, whereupon the Scotchman poured contempt upon his complaints and said that England was always spending her money on Ireland and got no return for it. The Irishman turned on his Scotch friend and spoke in terms of such scathing condemnation of him and his country

that, before we knew what had happened, the laird had seized the immense cake knife on the table and proceeded to go for the Irishman. For the moment pandemonium reigned, and to our mingled amusement and alarm the Irishman fled round the deck, pursued by the Scotchman, brandishing his knife and threatening immediate and dire vengeance. We succeeded with some difficulty in locking the Irishman in the smoking-room and pacifying the Scotchman, but his wrath continued to rumble at odd moments during the day, and it was some considerable time before peace was restored. Both men were above the average height, and we were unable, despite our anxiety, to prevent peals of laughter as the hunt round the ship progressed.

I have been very fortunate in the fact that on certain occasions my friends have lent me their yachts. In 1910, when I was recovering from a very serious illness, I received a letter from my dear old friend, Major Coates, afterwards Sir Edward Coates, telling me that he knew from old experience—for I had often cruised with him on his beautiful yacht, the *Amethyst*—how fond I was of yachting and how much good it did me. He therefore desired to place the *Amethyst* at my disposal for a month or six weeks' cruise—I should think the kindest and most generous offer that any man ever made. I spent six delightful weeks on board. We cruised all through the home waters, round the English coast, and the Irish coast, nearly to Lough Swilly, where we had to turn back owing to the violence of the gale, and along the west coast of Scotland—I think, on the whole, the most enjoyable six weeks I ever spent. It is surely the most attractive way of taking a holiday. If, as in this case, the yacht is at your own disposal, you can go where you like, make plans if you wish, adhere to them or not, change them as the weather and other conditions alter, and, of course, incidentally, you can see all sorts

of beautiful places which probably you would never otherwise visit.

I kept a careful diary of our cruise, which lies before me as I write, and it tells a very interesting story. The chief engineer was an admirable amateur photographer, and in addition to my own record, I have a large number of photographs which show many of the beautiful places on the coast of the British Isles.

When I was Chief Secretary I took more than one short cruise on the *Granuaille*, the steamer belonging to the Congested Districts Board, which was used for distributing produce. It was, however, an understood thing that the Chief Secretary could, if he liked, use it for visiting various places which could only be reached by sea. She was not a very comfortable vessel. She had, of course, no convenience for passengers, but none the less she gave me some very good times. On one occasion we anchored off a place where a great dispute had been raging for a very long time. The Protestant rector headed one side in the controversy and the Roman Catholic priest the other. I sent ashore to tell them that I was there, and would be very glad to receive them and hear their case if they could arrange both to come together. This they decided to do. I received them in the rather dim light of the so-called saloon. Some old oil lamps made themselves felt more by their smell than by the light they gave, and the vessel was rolling somewhat badly at her anchor. However, these intrepid clergymen appeared and I asked them to state their case. The rector began, but before he had completed a couple of sentences he had to retire. The R.C. priest took up the running and was overcome in the same way almost immediately. I then told them that if they would agree to put a joint case before me I would consider it and endeavour to give them an immediate answer. If not they had better come off again in the

morning, when I hoped they would be able to restate their case. I then left them and went on deck, to be very shortly summoned by my private secretary, who said that nothing would induce them to come off again in the morning, that they had agreed to abandon their differences and present a united demand to me if I would hear it. As a consequence, I was able to come to an arrangement with them which, I believe, terminated for ever a long-standing dispute. It showed that an old-fashioned vessel, in conjunction with a certain amount of bad weather, may prove a very valuable contribution to peaceful government.

After a very serious illness in 1913 Almeric Paget, now Lord Queenborough, was good enough to tell me that he would take me on the *Medusa*, which he had chartered for a long cruise. I had undergone a very grave operation which temporarily deprived me of my memory, and I have no recollection of the seven weeks which followed the operation until I found myself on the deck of the *Medusa* at the Scilly Isles, when a remark was made that the "King's" barge was coming. My nurse, Miss Robertson, for whose kindness I can never be sufficiently grateful, told me that I claimed that the barge was coming off to fetch me. This was due to the fact that I had been a constant visitor to my old friend, Smith-Dorrien, and he was known familiarly as the King of the Scilly Isles. However, from this time onwards my memory returned, and we had a most delightful cruise, eventually exploring some of the bigger Dutch canals and remaining at sea for a very considerable time. I think there is no doubt that these two cruises contributed very largely to my recovery of health.

I cannot forget that when I was convalescing after the last illness, Mr. James White, whom I only knew very slightly, was good enough to offer me a cruise in his yacht—

a very beautiful ship. Unfortunately, I had not sufficiently recovered to be able to enjoy it or to derive as much benefit from it as I should have liked, but none the less it was an act of great kindness which I thoroughly appreciated.

Of course there is much more to be said about yachting, and my own experiences of this delightful occupation, but space forbids.

Shooting is perhaps the sport in which I have participated to a lesser degree than in any other. Of all the forms of game shooting in England the one which has always attracted me most is shooting grouse over dogs. This form of sport has become impossible in England, at all events in partridge countries, because there is not enough cover for the dogs to work in. I have always thought that there is nothing more interesting, in a sense exciting, and certainly instructive, than watching a really good team of setters or pointers at work. While I say this it must not be thought that I have failed to appreciate the pleasures of shooting in its modern form. Many weeks have I spent in country houses shooting game of all kinds, and, looking back on the past, I cannot omit a reference to the delightful weeks that I have spent shooting at Wynyard or Mount Stewart in the days of the late Lord and Lady Londonderry. They were ideal host and hostess in their country houses or in their great house in Park Lane. They showed me and mine unstinted kindness, and I believe that, as types of the old English families, charged with great responsibilities, possessing enormous opportunities, no man, no woman, ever more completely commanded at once the admiration and the affection of all who knew them. And under their kind auspices many a good day's shooting have I had, both in England and in Ireland, and many a pleasant week or more have I spent in the enjoyment of their hospitality.

They both left us far too soon, but I am sure that all who knew them, who remember their great charm and the good work they did for their country, will agree with me that in their generation they were never excelled in the discharge of the multifarious duties of their high station. Certainly, to me and mine they were the kindest and best of friends, for whose memories I entertain the most affectionate and the most grateful feelings.

There is a great deal more that I should like to say. Memories come flooding upon me, but I think it best to stop at the time when I was compelled to retire from public life, and perhaps if I can find anybody rash enough to publish some further reminiscences I may be able to put them on record. As it is, I can only end as I began, by expressing my profound thankfulness for much that has made a long life both interesting and agreeable, and, as my last word, to say that I owe my recovery from the last and most serious of all my illnesses, as of course I do from the others, to the skill and care of doctors and nurses, but, above all, to the wonderful attention of my wife, who never allowed herself to be depressed by the gravity of my condition, but by most devoted care and nursing brought me back to life.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

A TOUR IN IRELAND

September, 1905

UNOFFICIAL NOTES BY THE VICE-PRESIDENT, L.G.B. (IRELAND).

Monday, 11th September, 2.30 p.m.

Picked up the Attorney-General at his rose-covered cottage under the mountains, and started for Humewood.

Kit following with the 16–20 hired car, which ran smoothly and gave no indications of its latent vices subsequently developed.

Tuesday.

An imposing array of cars. The Chief's 24 h.p. (guaranteed by the makers to be all that a car should be, but with a few characteristics of a cucumber frame and a bathing box superadded), the 16–20, my "Fast Lady" and a humble 10–12 with a bad reputation, owing to a recent shady episode with a commutator. The depraved 10–12 started in advance with the servants.

Started at eleven o'clock, the "Fast Lady" leading the way with the Chief, Eric and George Gibbs; Lady Doreen and Mrs. Gibbs and the Attorney-General in the "Bathing Machine."

Difficulty in finding the road, Kilkenny main roads being un distinguishable from country lanes. Moreover, all roads, according to the natives, led to a place called Ballon, and no one, apparently, had ever heard of any other place. Circled round Ballon for an hour or so, and then escaped to the open, and were rewarded by soon finding ourselves at Thomastown.

Awful road by Ballyhale to Waterford, where, as the Attorney-General described it, cars and passengers played cup and ball with each other for an hour and a half. Crossing Waterford Bridge, the "Fast Lady," who had hitherto behaved irreproachably,

kicked off her steering gear as a protest at being driven fast over a loose plank; the back wheels were promptly jammed with the brake, but the car could not be stopped in time, and dashed into the parapet, tearing a tyre open, but fortunately doing no damage to anyone; passengers were not even shaken or alarmed, merely interested.

Goff fortunately turned up at this moment and carried off the passengers, and the disgraced "Fast Lady" was ignominiously dragged by a cart on her hind wheels to the repair shop. "A first rate accident spoilt," as young Goff put it.

A diversion was caused by Kit dashing over the bridge on his car without being aware that toll had to be paid. Vociferously cheered by the populace at this spirited conduct, and much disappointment shown when, after being chased by the toll-keeper and two policemen, he pulled up at the scene of the accident and tamely submitted to the demands of the minion of the bridge company.

Excellent lunch with Goff, who took the "Fast Lady's" passengers on to Lismore.

Very dark and muddy. Travelled with Kit on the 16–20, which was pulling grandly.

After about twenty miles the "Bathing Machine" punctured. Lady Doreen resisted all offers to be sent on, and sat on the roadside and encouraged the puncture menders. A long time thus spent, and ten minutes later another puncture occurred. While mending this the depraved 10–12 appeared on the scene with her owners on board, who had the effrontery to refer to the unreliability of large cars and to express pity for the puncture menders and the watchers by the roadside. Flesh and blood could not stand this, so the party packed into Goff's car and Kit's, and soon left the impertinent 10–12 wallowing laboriously behind them on the way to Lismore.

Helped McCombie to put in new tube, and followed in about half an hour, and was met at the door of the hotel by Eric, the Chief's small son, who took charge of me, ordered everybody he saw to get me hot water and proceeded to find my room. Flung open one door and discovered elderly spinster with her hair down in the trottiest little nightie. Lady shrieked and Eric retired precipitately. Suddenly remembered he had not apologized, and that, as son of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, was bound when on

an official tour with his father to recollect what was due to his position. The question, therefore, was: What would his father have done in this delicate and embarrassing situation? Undoubtedly he would have gone back to the lady and frankly apologized.

Accordingly he opened the door again, nodded reassuringly to the horrified lady, and gracefully acknowledged in a somewhat lengthy and carefully-worded oration his entire responsibility for the unfortunate mistake, leaving her petrified and speechless.

Wednesday.

Lismore Castle in the morning. Lovely views up the river. Lunch at hotel, and found that the "Fast Lady" had arrived with her new axle and Noonan with the Jenatzy Martini, on which he had travelled all night from Dublin. He had never driven this car before, and found it to have the vices of every other make of car, with a multitude of other special and peculiar ones of its own.

Hackenschmidt might have managed the gears without leaving his seat, but the mere ordinary man had to let go the steering wheel, stand up and hurl his whole weight upon change-speed lever.

As the speeds had to be changed upon the slightest grade, Noonan spent the greater part of his time in a swimming attitude on the speed lever. There were three foot-pedals, car evidently built for traditional Manxman, as all three had occasionally to be worked at the same time. By common consent the car was christened the "Wilful Murder."

Outside Rathmore the "Fast Lady" burst a new tyre beyond repair, and was left in the yard of Mr. O'Sullivan's public-house, and a new tyre telegraphed for.

The 10–12 came along and garnered up the passengers a second time, and rehabilitated herself as a trustworthy gleaner of broken-down motorists.

Very dark on reaching Headford, and the whole cavalcade took a wrong turn and went down a precipitous laneway. All got safely up, except the "Wilful Murder," which had to be lugged out of a ditch and shoved up the hill by eight irritated members of the party.

A most perilous moonlight drive along the Loo Bridge road, headed by Kit on the 16–20, with a young constable we picked up at Headford who thought he knew the road. "Keep the

tallygraff posts forninst ye if ye can see thim, and if ye can't don't moind thim but just shtick to the road," were his instructions, and following this advice, Kit pelted along, and more by good luck than good guidance, we got to Kenmare at nine o'clock, and found warm fires, dinner, bridge and comfortable beds.

Thursday.

Started with Noonan on the " Wilful Murder " to retrieve the " Fast Lady " from the public-house.

Chief came to the door to see us off, and the " Wilful Murder " saluted him with a startling *feu de joie* of explosions.

An appalling experience of breakdowns—not necessary to particularize, as everything went wrong which could do so. Finally the car refused to go any way except backwards, and as her back was against the gable of a house, it was obvious that either the house had to be pulled down or the car left where it was. Chose the latter alternative and took Noonan on the " Fast Lady " to Killarney, vowing vengeance against McTaggart. The only drop of comfort to his sorrows was that no spare parts were obtainable for the " Wilful Murder," as the makers never built another car. He didn't know what had happened to them, but fervently hoped that " every mother's son of them had died a violent death."

Got to Killarney for tea, and found our party enthusiastic over a successful boating excursion on the lakes.

Friday.

Always difficult to start the Chief, if, as Eric says—with a general suggestion of referring to an epidemic—" he's got the pouches." Bad attack of pouches this morning, but finally got off to Kenmare House, a divinely situated and charming place overlooking the lakes. Stayed here for an hour and then started for Killaloe, our first and only damp day. Found our way to Castleisland in spite of the A.-G., who in Kerry or Limerick, relying on his intimate knowledge of the country, always insists on showing us the roads to take, and frequently lands us, to his own intense surprise, at the opposite end of the country to our intended destination. Never will admit his error, however, and always insists that he brought us there to show us the view as a pleasant surprise.

If there isn't any view he declares that he wanted the Chief to realize the desolation of the district.

Very wet going up Castleisland hill, and the panorama of Killarney from the top completely obscured.

Mud very bad in Abbeyfeale. Cars scarcely under control and domestic animals numerous and obstructive. The result was that the souls of a dog and several chickens ascended the Golden Stair.

Day cleared later, and we lunched on the hill over Newcastle before a large local audience, whose verdict on the Chief Secretary as expressed to Lynch was: "Well, 'tis good whisky he dhrinks anyway, more power to him."

Got through a bottle of it themselves satisfactorily, each man taking a long pull of it—raw—from the bottle.

Saturday.

A day of skidding. The "Bathing Machine" went backwards and sideways, any way but straight, and McCombie's smile as it rubbed along the demesne wall of Adare Manor with two wheels in the ditch was singularly mirthless. Tea at Limerick and on by the banks of the Shannon, a very picturesque road, but dangerous on account of deep ruts, mud and the absence of fences.

Arrived at the Lakeside Hotel at six o'clock to find that the wretched "Gleaner" had sneaked on in front and appropriated the only shed. A 16–20 arrived from Dublin to take the place of the defunct "Wilful Murder" and we accordingly sent Goff's car back to Waterford.

An early start by steamer for Portumna, Kit taking the motors round by road and having a neck and neck race with the "Bathing Machine," the pair of them distancing the others.

A pleasant trip up the lake, and found all cars waiting. The "Gleaner" now beginning to be quite uppish and patronizing. Many complaints about the cows and donkeys on the road. The owners think that if people buy absurd and unreliable cars they must expect cows to charge at them and donkeys to roll in front of them on the road in paroxysms of mirth. Finds no such trouble with "Gleaner"; on the contrary, the cows stand aside with heads reverently bowed as it passes, and the donkeys draw themselves up to their full height and, with heads erect and tails up, remain "Rampant Regardant," like a crest in Debrett, till the "Gleaner" is out of sight.

Visited Portumna, where Lady Doreen was shown the tombs of her ancestors.

A finely wooded park by the shores of the lake, but a stricken and deserted air about it which was most depressing. Lunch in the cabin of the steamer revived our spirits, and we drove to Galway through the heart of the country which so short a time ago was the headquarters of the League and the kingdom of the boycotters. Chief was received with sullen looks, especially in Loughrea and Athenry, where the heads of the movement owe to him their enforced absence from home.

"Bathing Machine" "got into hoults" with a coal-cart outside Galway and shed a mud-guard. Being Saturday afternoon, the whole population, leaving for home without being absolutely incapacitated, nevertheless "had dhrink taken," and progress was slow. Tea at Galway and a stop at the bridge enabled us to realize the assertion that the salmon are jostling one another in Galway river is not purely legendary.

Sunday.

Start for Mulranny delayed by a diabolical outrage. Some evilly-disposed person had evidently been trying to pass the trumpet of Eric's gramophone under a door.

Eric finds that, owing to the severity of his studies, his nerves require soothing from time to time, which can best be accomplished by high-class music; accordingly brings a gramophone with him and gives himself a quiet refresher on it in the back of the "Bathing Machine" at intervals.

Visited Kylemore Castle, and on our way to Leenane the ignition of Kit's car went wrong. The Clement came on to break the news to us, and we sent it back to take up Kit's passengers, as we were due to lunch at Westport House at 1.30.

Payne, the driver, imparts a good deal of style to his driving, and on this occasion one of his hairbreadth stops did not come off, with the result that his car went over the bank, and remained hanging over the bog with the back wheels only on the road.

Looked rather hopeless, but all hands got on the spokes of the wheels and the springs, and inch by inch we got the car back not much the worse.

Payne desperately apologetic and repentant, and found a new reason and excuse for the accident every day till the end of the tour.

After Errig Bridge, Kit's car blew its silencer off and developed fresh troubles, so his party went on in the "Gleaner," and we got to Westport House at 1.30, leaving him to find his way to Mulranny, where he arrived with his car exploding 1,500 shots a minute like a pom-pom, a name which stuck to it for the rest of the tour.

After a good lunch with the Sligos, we started for Mulranny. Extraordinary incident in passing through the Home Farm. A sheep tried to get across the road. Finding it could not head the car, as we were going about twenty miles an hour, it put on a terrific spurt and jumped clean over the car, just touching the lamp near the bonnet with its hind feet.

Arrived at Mulranny in time for tea, and found Taylor on the terrace with his hands in his pockets and mouth open, taking in ozone by the quart.

Monday.

The Chief having been asked to receive two Westport deputations, one in favour of and the other against the Inislyre Pier, innocently threw a bomb-shell among the inhabitants by arranging to receive them both together at Rossmoney Coast Guard Station. Left Mulranny at 9.30 to meet them, with Taylor, Osborne, Gibbs and Stoney. Prospects of a shindy seemed favourable, but both deputations arrived in about equal strength, and were accordingly freezingly polite to each other, much to the annoyance of Osborne, who had piously hoped that it might be given to him to witness a repetition of the spirited scenes of Donnybrook Fair.

In spite, however, of regrettable absence of bloodshed, the by-play was fairly entertaining, for as each member of one deputation addressed the Chief, some member of the rival deputation drew me on one side, begged me to privately inform the Chief Secretary that the speaker was nothing but a lyin' blackguard, and the Chief Secretary ought not to pay the slightest attention to a word he said.

Just before the conclusion, the leader of each deputation, one after the other, besought me privately to get him the last word with the Chief before he stepped into the boat. Chief gracefully conceded this boon to them both, but at the same time, thereby depriving himself of the felicity of learning their private opinion of each other. Rivals therefore merely glared at one another, and the last word resolved itself into a formal good-bye.

Landed at Achilbeg, and drove to the new shore road. Magnificent extent of mountain cliffs and breaking seas.

Chief walked over the projected extension with Mr. X, county councillor, who stuck to him like a leech, much to the annoyance of Mr. Y, the district councillor. X and Y great rival factions in Achill, and a curious commentary upon the supposed hatred of the Irish people for the domineering tyrants who represent the British Government was furnished by Mr. Y, who with gloom on his brow implored me to bring it about that he might walk with the Chief Secretary for a while, otherwise his loss of prestige would be such that he might as well "Lave the place altogether."

Put him on the Chief's car on the return journey. Made himself most agreeable and intimated that if the Chief was on the look-out for a good magisthrate in Achill, which, God knows, was badly needed, his brother was the man for the job.

Visited the stronghold of Grace O'Malley on Clare Island and got to Mulranny at 7.30. Tramped across the sands to the hotel in the dusk, and found the rest of our party returned. Lady Doreen and Mrs. Gibbs had been at the Clives. The A.–G. and Monteith had borrowed—and broken—a few golf clubs, and Kit came back from Athavallie laden with grapes, to be greeted with the pleasing intelligence that the left-hand front springs of the "Pom-Pom" were found to be in two halves.

Tuesday.

Kit and Monteith remained behind to get the new springs fitted, and then to follow us on to Bundoran.

The rest of the cars assembled at 11.30. O'Boyle, the hotel electrician, started my car for me, and then proceeded to do the same for the Chief's car, which was packed with luggage, and had only Eric on the front seat. Starting handle desperately stiff, but O'Boyle, without realizing that the gears were in mesh, by a herculean effort succeeded in turning the handle. Car dashed past us, nearly flattened the valet against the wall, butted into a fuchsia hedge, and stuck with its front wheels on a bank, with the hind wheels buzzing round. Eric from his front seat loud in his protestations. McCombie got alongside and jerked the lever into neutral and ended the difficulty. Eric promptly got off, eyed the car resentfully for some moments, and then transferred himself and the gramophone to the Clement.

Started again with the feeling that it was another of young Goff's " good accidents spoilt."

The A.–G., hearing that Payne, driver of the Clement, had been four times round Ireland and knew every inch of the road we were travelling, ensconced himself in the Clement's front seat, and prepared to take notes of the places of interest we passed.

Payne turned out to be a broken reed to depend upon for this information, all his eyes being for the speed and merits of his car.

Conversation between them was to the following effect :

A.–G. : " What's this village we're coming to ? "

Payne : " Divil I know, but we won't be long lavin' it behoind us annyway. D'ye mind the way she's lepping up this hill ? D'ye ever see the loike of that for goin' ? "

A.–G. (trying again) : " This, I suppose, is County Sligo ? Or is it Roscommon ? We can't be far off Roscommon now, I fancy."

Payne : " Troth, an' I wouldn't wonder. But sure so long as y'er on this car ye've no call to take notice what county y'er in. Sure it makes no differ to this car whether it's Limerick or Meeyo or Cork. She just keeps beltin' along an' ye couldn't shtop her."

A.–G. (with a last effort) : " Is that Sligo with the spires in front of us ? "

Payne : " Mebbe so, or it might be Ballina or Longford or some of thim places. I disremember the look o' Sligo, but I hot a pig wanst, an' me goin' into Sligo on this car, and rowled him over, and the divil such a squealin' ever ye heard. Sorra a harm it done to the car. 'Tis the reli'blest car ye ever seen, and it's a gentleman like yourself that 'ud have great sportin' about if ye had a car like this. D'ye hear the silence of her : listen to that now—not a sound out of her. Thim——is only a humbug."

A.–G. gives it up in despair.

A most lovely run past Pontoon : the colouring of the lakes, mountains and stretches of moorland being superb. Chief was captured by the proprietor of a new fishing hotel on the shores of the lake, who avowed himself a staunch supporter of the Unionist Government and showed the Chief over his clean, quaint, little building, so designed to give a view of both lakes from every room.

Market day at Swinford, but no obstructive traffic on the roads.

Lunched outside Charlestown, near a cottage where an old woman gave us an exhibition of spinning and carding wool.

People throughout the County Sligo most respectful, all taking their hats off to the Chief as we passed.

Arrived in Sligo at five o'clock, and had tea at Victoria Hotel.

Shocking road outside Sligo, but improved after three miles. Road took us under a grand and marvellous cliff, and we made good tracks for Bundoran, arriving there soon after six o'clock.

Wire received after dinner from Kit and Monteith saying the "Pom-Pom" had broken down outside Sligo, and they would stop for repairs and be with us early next morning.

Wednesday.

Kit and Monteith turned up at 10 a.m., having had many adventures.

In passing a cart the horse swung round and with the tail shafts of the cart knocked the car into the ditch. Old man in charge of cart shouted: "Stop! Stop! Ye're afther killing a man, the shaft wint clane through me chest. I'm the man that's killed."

Monteith greatly alarmed by this, implored him to sit down by the roadside and be calm. Only chance for a corpse, he explained.

Corpse sat down, still bellowing his requiem while the car was being extracted from the bog. However, for the sum of 2s. 6d. he consented to rise from the dead and resume charge of his cart. Outside Coolooney one cylinder knocked off work, and further on two of the three remaining ones struck. Car snorted in to Sligo on one cylinder, blowing out blue fumes with fearful explosions.

Refused admission to the hotel at first, and warned by the police in consequence of car's riotous and disorderly conduct, but eventually got things put right and had a good run to Bundoran in the morning. We started them in front with some luggage, as there were no trains or other means of sending our things to Rosapenna.

Good road through Barnesmore Gap to Letterkenny; delayed for an hour by the front wheel of the "Fast Lady," which developed too much play to be quite comfortable. Excellent and permanent job made of it by McCombie. Lovely road from Letterkenny to Rosapenna, where we arrived at five o'clock.

Splendid golf-links, and divine views from the top.

Thursday.

Started early with the Chief, A.–G. and Monteith for Lord Hamilton's luncheon party in Derry, Kit and Taylor following close behind on the "Pom-Pom" as break-down car.

Road to Letterkenny even more beautiful on return journey looking south. Stopped in Letterkenny for letters, where the violence of the "Pom-Pom" explosions in the market-place brought vivid ideas of battle, murder and sudden death to the alarmed inhabitants.

Broad road with excellent surface to Derry, and for the first time on the trip the "Fast Lady" was given her head, and we saw no more of our escort till we had been in Derry an hour.

Much pressed by the A.–G. to lunch with the party, but it seemed a political affair, and as the Local Government Board's motto has always been "Confound their politics," tried every device to get out of it. First put it on Monteith, who wasn't invited. Didn't like to leave him, a stranger alone in a large city. A.–G. insisted that Monteith could easily get invited, had only to walk with the party on their visit to the historic walls and assume an expression of wolfish hunger—perhaps might ostentatiously gnaw a hunk of bread or a bone—and Lord Hamilton would be sure to invite him.

No escape seeming possible we hid ourselves in a garage, and sent a note to the A.–G. with a story of fabulous break-downs that needed personal supervision.

Lunched with Kit, Monteith and Taylor at hotel, where a deputation subsequently waited on Chief, and requested him to construct a few piers, a couple of light railway extensions and a harbour of refuge or two from Government funds, on the ground that these, being purely local enterprises, couldn't reasonably expect help from so wide an area as the county at large. Couldn't quite hear Chief's reply, but understand that it was to the general effect that nothing appealed to him so much as harbours of refuge, while as for light railway extensions, they were simply a mania of his. The only difficulty he saw was that if he constructed all the works he had been asked for since his advent to Ireland nearly every man in Ireland would have a trans-Atlantic packet station or a light railway extension of his own.

Delayed till five o'clock at the shirt factory, and having got our batteries freshened up, did our journey in record time to

Coleraine, where we had a most interesting study of the A.–G. in the heart of his constituents.

Delightful to see the way the A.–G., with the influence of the Blarney Stone strong upon him, brought up and eulogized his supporters to the Chief. Equally delightful to watch their pride while the A.–G. was delivering his limelight lecture upon their merits.

A little dazed as to their names sometimes, but faces quite familiar, and on the whole, got through with flying colours—made only two mistakes, I understand.

First—the "boots" of the hotel, in honour of the occasion, had washed his face and donned his coat. Notwithstanding this disguise, there was something about the man he clearly recognized, though not sure what—introduced him to the Chief as "one of my most influential supporters" and expressed a doubt as to whether the Unionist cause, or he might even say, the British nation, fully realized what it owed to this man.

On his eminence in his profession, continued the A.–G., it was unnecessary to dwell, for his name was a household word throughout the length and breadth of the land.

"Boots" intoxicated with this praise, and fired with a wild desire to justify it by some valorous deed for the good of the cause, dashed downstairs three steps at a time, and painted "To Hell with the Pope" with his blacking brush on the walls of the boot-room in letters a foot and a half long.

The only other bad shot was in the case of an elderly commercial man staying in hotel, and travelling in a cheap line of printed calicoes for a Manchester firm.

Poked his head out of bedroom door and caught the eye of the A.–G.

A.–G. thought there was something Cromwellian about his nose. Anyhow, never safe to ignore a nose like that in his constituency. Moreover, face seemed quite familiar, so swooped down upon him, lugged him up to the Chief, and declared that in the whole of his Parliamentary career there would never be any more pleasant memories to him than the grateful recollection of what he owed to this man's invaluable advice and unswerving loyalty.

Elderly commercial dumbfounded; never seen the A.–G. in his life before, but concluded that if fertility of imagination is

essential for a North of Ireland constituency, the sitting Member must be pretty safe in Coleraine.

Left Coleraine amid cheers of assembled crowd, and got to Portrush at 7.30.

Friday.

Tour has been rather a severe trial for the cars, owing to rough roads, broken stones and stiff hills. To-day it was the survival of the fittest. The "Bathing Machine" succumbed first outside Portrush, having slipped the first speed pinion.

The "Pom-Pom," after Kit and Noonan had decorated the road with the whole of its inside, in a vain attempt to prove the mystery of its failure, suddenly broke its driving shaft, and had to be left with Noonan in a farm-yard.

Visited the Giant's Causeway, and were met by Lord Macnaghten and party; afterwards got into trouble by taking a wrong turn.

Elsewhere the police had stood at cross-roads and directed us, either by waving us on, or standing with arms extended like sign-posts, or by gazing fixedly at the road we were to go.

In North Antrim the police left us to our own devices at all the doubtful and critical turnings, but carefully guarded the narrow lanes and cul-de-sacs which only a cow might desire to explore.

Result was we found ourselves facing a most precipitous hill, with loose surface, near Carrick-a-rede.

The Clement stuck first, Payne declaring that only for her cursed carburettor ye'd see how she'd fly up the hill. However, after shedding her passengers, she managed all right with a friendly shove.

The "Gleaner," with a helping hand, and by adopting a corkscrew method of progression, got up, and the "Fast Lady" carried her load up bravely.

The "Pom-Pom" disgraced itself; it was only with the assistance of all hands that we got it up, inch by inch, and we were left with the impression at the end that on the whole it would have been less effort to carry it up bodily. It was shortly after this that its final collapse came, and after lunch at Marine Hotel, Ballycastle, the "Gleaner" took up its passengers, leaving Kit to follow to Larne by train.

A lovely run round the coast road. My passengers found the hum of the gears very soporific, and we got into Larne with Mr.

Osborne asleep on my shoulder, and the A.–G. and the Chief with their heads hanging out on each side of the tonneau, slumbering peacefully like twins in a perambulator.

Saturday.

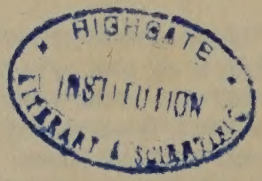
Eric left by an early train. I went to say good-bye to him, and found him leaning out of his compartment, evidently only prevented by the presence of his father reading a paper in the offing from addressing the public on the platform.

Left for Belfast at eleven o'clock, and travelled very fast via Carrickfergus. Arrived in time to see Harland and Wolff's yard before lunch.

Sir Daniel Dixon's lunch and review of Fire Brigade a great success. Kit and I took our hostess, Miss Dixon, back to Claremont Park, near Dundalk, a most beautiful place, where we had tea.

Got to Dundalk in time to intercept the rest of the party in the Limited Mail, and to say good-bye to Lady Doreen, whose equanimity under all trials and mishaps during the tour impressed even the chauffeurs.

Lynch's admiration for such perfect sang-froid found vent in the graceful compliment that " Begorra ! that's the lady ye'd be proud to have in ye'r car if ye was to be having a rale bad accident."



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